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MISCELLANEOUS WORKS

OF

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN.

London:
Printed by A. & R. Spottiswoode,
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MISCELLANEOUS

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RIGHT HONOURABLE

HENRY GRATTAN.

LONDON:
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PREFACE.

This Volume does not require an introduction. — The pieces which it contains are valuable fragments of Irish politics ; they show the temper of the times, the character of the government, and the spirit of the people — they throw some light upon the affairs of a misgoverned country, and if they should, at last, convey any useful information to its rulers, they will render a blessing to Ireland, and a benefit to the empire.

THE EDITOR.

Dublin, 1822.

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Mr. Grattans' Speeches are published in four volumes 8vo.

THE

MISCELLANEOUS WORKS,

&c. &c.

THE two following letters composed part of a celebrated series of papers which appeared in Ireland during the Viceroyship of Lord Townshend. They were first published in the Freeman's Journal, and afterwards collected in a single volume, entitled, "Baratariana," from the history of Barataria, which, under that name, professes to give an account of Lord Townshend's ministry. They took their rise from the conduct of that governor proroguing the Irish Parliament, and forcing on the journals of the House of Lords his protest against the proceedings of the Commons in rejecting a money-bill, because it had been altered by the privy council.

The principal authors of the work were, Sir Hercules Langrishe, Mr. Flood, Mr. Gervaise Parker Bushe, and Mr. Grattan. "The celebrated Ballad on the Rejection of the altered Money-bill," — the characters in the history of Barataria, and the description of Miss Monroe, by Sir Hercules Langrishe, will long remain evidences of the exquisite taste and talent of their author.

Lord Townshend, Mr. Tisdall (Attorney-general), Mr. Hutchinson (Prime Serjeant), Anthony Malone, Provost Andrews, Lord Annaly, Lord Loftus, and Sir George Macartney, are the principal personages in the supposed history. The spirit and humour, the point and taste which characterize the work, have rendered it not less interesting as a production of genius than instructive as a matter connected with the politics of Ireland.

The letters by Mr. Grattan are introduced merely with a view to show his early attention to the public affairs of his country.

DEDICATION OF BARATARIANA.

To the Right Honourable Lord Viscount Townshend.

My Lord,

The following papers should be dedicated to you, for you are the subject of them; had they been barren of literary merit, they had not been much attended to; had they possessed literary merit alone, they had not been attended to long. No, my Lord, they had something more, they had truth, and appealed to a nation, who in these essays recognized its own idea, reflected with additional lustre. They spoke with a warmth expressive of great feelings, greatly agitated, upon great occasion. If they descended to your train, it was because your train were your ministers. If they glanced at your private life, it was because the levity of your private life entered into your public conduct, and became the character of your government. They spoke with moderation in the fervour of the times; and now, that the war, which your administration waged with the public, is at an end, and every thing respecting your person buried in compassion and contempt; these papers, upon constitutional principles, make a sober appeal to the judgment of the people; and are presented, not as satire, but history.

The liberty of the press (it were vain to deny it) has advanced to great maturity under the present reign. Its progress is easily accounted for, — during the life of the late monarch the press spoke the language of insinuation. His Majesty, a plain, honest gentleman, of the house of Hanover, was not likely to deserve, or to punish, or indeed to understand, libels. There was no mysterious attachment in his family, an allusion to which could never be forgiven. His Court was not always without some claim to principle, and did not advance extravagant pretensions to devotion; pretensions, suspicious to the simplicity of the English, not yet accustomed to the novelty of a puritanical piety, selecting, for its support, men of the most dissolute morals.

When his present Majesty ascended the throne, the first acts of his reign generated libellers. His measures gave matter, and persecution gave boldness, to composition. The hand of power touched the press, and, like the porcupine, it started into a thousand shafts; — a person, not in himself, perhaps, the most respectable, attacked the favourite with vigour;

to depress that person, the court violated the constitution, and he rose proportionally, in the estimation of the people. The persecution of government hurt the temper, and its prostitution impaired the delicacy, of the press. The usurpations of prerogative were *expedients* at first, and became principles afterwards; in the same manner, corruption, the occasional practice of foregoing reigns, became the established maxim of the present. The press varied with the vices it was to correct; and, unable to reform, endeavoured to brand and terrify a shameless administration.

The venality of Parliament aided this progress. When the House of Commons was honest, it spoke for the people; and the people, relying on that resource, were silent. But when Parliament became the echo of administration, the constitutional utterance of popular sentiments being impeded, the people were obliged to speak for themselves; and their feelings burst forth, as it were, in explosion. And, indeed, since impeachment has died out of the constitution; since national justice is only administered by the censorial power of the public, the exercise of this power is become essential, and uncommon censure is the consequence of uncommon profligacy.

In this kingdom, my Lord, from the time of your arrival in it, you were contented to degrade yourself below the condition, I will not say of a Viceroy, but of a gentleman, and to become the miserable instrument of English tyranny. Through you, the little minister of the day, whoever he happened to be, played upon our constitution; and, unfortunately, the engine that he used was directed, not to allay, but to inflame. Measures, differing indeed from those pursued in Great Britain, because adapted to another meridian, but equally oppressive, practised against a country already sufficiently oppressed, — a determined perseverance in doctrines, as arbitrary and unconstitutional as any of the Mansfield code, touching the vitals of the state, and tending to deprive the representatives of the people of their most essential and incommunicable rights, — the same undue influence exerted on a complying House of Commons, — and the same declared hostility against every man who did but assume the name of a friend to his country. These causes, I say, my Lord, all concurred to produce the same effects here, that a similar system had before produced in England: they excited, in every honest breast, the same freedom of thinking and writing, the same spirit of candid representation, and vigorous remonstrance, on the part of the people.

Here, too, the productions of the press were incited by a circumstance which did not exist in England, — the unexampled intemperance of publications on the part of the court.

A paper, supported, my Lord, by your authority, perhaps occasionally supplied by your labours, went beyond the reserve of ordinary libellers, and reproached the delicacy of the North Briton. Mr. Wagstaff's essays *, distinguished for carrying personal invective into unusual excess, are still more remarkable for directing that invective against principle itself. It was not the false pretender to patriotism; it was the name of patriot, and the virtues of patriotism which were insulted. Finding it vain to wage war against truth and conviction, against the wishes and the sense of the nation; finding integrity in its own form invulnerable, and sophistry ineffectual, what was to be done? The domestic arguments, and the social affections of your opponents were viewed in the inverted glass of distortion, and imputed to them as crimes. In vain did the modesty of private life imagine itself secure. Its economy was burlesqued, its splendour was derided, its taste, its friendships, its most amiable characteristics, its finest feelings, whatever had dignity enough to be susceptible of violation, all were outraged, ridiculed, and distorted. It seemed as if every species of virtue was to be destroyed, before your Lordship could be defended. The style, too, of those essays, distinguished them; it is too light for conviction. The cause of truth is seldom supported by farcical compositions, and by that more than Gallic gaiety with which the courtier sings *Te Deum* on the defeats of the constitution.

When Shaftesbury wished to attack truth and religion, he made ridicule the test of both; but a Hooker and a Locke defended them by other arms. The writers of 'The Mercury' speak to the nation on its most essential interests, in the frolicsome petulance with which one slave might salute his fellow. Without any of the genius, they have all the vice of their great exemplar.

The following papers will reach you, my Lord, in another country. They will contribute to amuse those leisure moments, when you reflect on transactions that must once have agitated your bosom. They will recal those motley times of embarrassed indolence, — of broken councils, — of sordid society, — when business waited, while Dennis jested, and Cunningham† advised. You will look back to the sea, on which you once were tossed, and feel a joy to be on shore, though naked, and without a friend. In these moments of reflection and of safety, you will recollect that you have introduced into this country a long train of mischiefs; that you have left a name, as little to be forgotten as it can be beloved; that the men who opposed you were not your enemies, nor the men who supported you your friends; that your largesses were rejected by the spirit of indignant poverty; that your favours, when they were received, were written in the sandy memory of disgusted hirelings, but your injuries engraven on the marble of the constitution. Softened and stung by these considerations, you will lament the time when you were called from the ranks to which you belong, and, from the ludicrous singularity of your genius, transplanted to a station, where honours did not grow around you; and where, of all whom you have served, and all whom you have injured, your adversaries are those alone of whom you cannot complain.

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* Letters in a work entitled, "*The Batchelor,*" written in support of Lord Townshend's administration, and against the members then in opposition.

† Two of Lord Townshend's court.

Le bon temps viendra.—ENG. PEERAGE.

To the Earl of Harcourt.

November 14. 1772.

MY LORD,

THE state of this country, and the ill advice, as representative of the King, you are sure to be exposed to, justify an early address on the part of the public. More sincere than the accents with which the Parliament, the city, and the port receive you, it shall be not less decent, less full of ardent hopes, of favourable impressions. We salute you with that credulous cordiality, that open hospitality, and all those lively expectations, peculiar to a generous and a sanguine people. At the departure of the late Viceroy we feel an alacrity, the effect of relief; and, inferring from the physical to the political climate, after such tempests, we hope that better days will succeed.

We know you bring with you a decorum and splendour long forgotten in this country, and we believe you add qualities which are substantial.

No people are more addicted to their chief governor, until by his conduct, he corrects every tendency in his favour, and destroys the faintest supposition of his virtue.

You come among us in times that are critical, but not difficult; you ascend the Irish throne in the day of its unpopularity and degradation, with powers, and, we presume, with wishes, to raise it above its present condition; fraud, perfidy, and profusion. There is no royal disease, we conceive, in that seat which once was honourable, communicated from Viceroy to Viceroy, in a course of infected succession.

You must have been already informed that the power of this country was formerly in a few natives. Government disliked this system, because these men sometimes opposed; and the nation disliked it, because they generally complied with the minister. We thought it dangerous to collect the being of the people to the point of a life-blood, not always protected by virtue. The scheme of government should have been rather to weaken than destroy a natural influence; and on that principle, government would have found support. The Viceroy should have enlarged the basis of administration, and, in opposition to an oligarchy, should have stood on popular affection. Time, the friend of power, a resident influence, whose operation is constant, and the leaning of this country to administration, would have safely established the desired revolution; revolution, which should steal upon a nation, never alarm it.

A different system was pursued. The chief governor began his attack upon the power of the oligarchy by an insult on their persons, not considering that, although their power ought to have been impaired, their persons were to be respected. Instead of resting administration on the nation in general, he detached the nation from his ministry by an idle contest, almost in the commencement of his authority, and placed the oligarchy on the very ground on which he should have placed himself; making them, not the heads of a faction, but the leaders of the people.

There was no idea of securing, or softening, or detaching, by address, by moderation, or a faint example of better government. To discredit the established influence of others, was the object of the Viceroy. For this, the power of the Crown was ineffectually and dishonourably abused; difficulties, which arose from indiscretion, were encountered by profusion; profusion created new difficulties, to be withstood by new extravagance.

A wanton increase of nominal employments, and real sinecures; engagements, dishonourable if they are kept, and dishonourable if they are violated; a swarm of dependants unfit for any station, introduced into the high station of Parliament,— were the happy resources of a government, that was to reconcile to innovation, and purposed to repose in this country.

Thus, the new system, which was to fall upon this country like manna from above, shook the realm. The question was no more whether an English administration, or an Irish oligarchy should prevail; the question was now, whether Ireland, in days of peace and poverty, should pay for the continuance of a fatal government, and for the support of every project of corruption, by the imposition of a land tax.

Thus, my Lord, we are taught to look back with affection at our old oligarchy. The scheme of politics, however narrowed, was not then a job with every person who wore the livery of the court; the wealth of the nation was not then devoted to every purpose, except the exigencies of the kingdom and the splendour of the Crown; the country was not then laid under contribution to support the idle and griping train of the revenue; the nation was not then a wasted field of battle, where the Viceroy consulted victory, and not government.

It was unfortunate for this country that the man appointed to unite to administration all the branches of power, was the most distinguished for his aversion to business. The sceptre fell among his domestics, who became ministers to him, and incumbrances to us. Thus the indolence of the executive power became a rent-charge upon the nation!

I have described the event of this system in general terms; I will not tire your patience by entering into the detail of measures about which there is little doubt, either as to their existence or impropriety; but this, my Lord, I will say, that when you come among us, you will see the foulest policy that ever took the name of government. Viceroys who have hitherto presided in this country, submitted upon every occasion to every minister, because their natural situation was below their elevation, and they stood upon a fearful precipice, from whence they trembled to fall; but the terms on which you will receive and preserve the favours of your sovereign will not be unworthy; for you, my Lord, can command favours.

An accomplished peer of England, full of age and honours, will not forfeit the maturity of his good name for an office, little to his fortune, nothing to his glory, and by no means flattering to the tranquillity of his disposition. Speaking from the throne, he will observe truth, and, contributing to any popular measure, consistency; his *douceurs* will be without treachery, his engagements without falsehood. He will not bring along with him to a plundered country an hungry set of followers, but rather Amalthea's horn; and scatter the novelty of prosperity among us. In the distribution of bounty he will remember, that the money he gives is not his own, and he will show that vice is, at least, not his object; his pensions and places will not scandalize his royal Master, nor put a public mark on the worthlessness of the receiver. My Lord, you are to reside among us; and if you are not to share our prosperity or distresses, you will, however, enjoy, by public observations on your conduct, the full fame of your administration. An evanescent harpy of the Crown will have no scruples; but the gentleman who means to live in the midst of his tenantry, no doubt, will be a gracious landlord. A resident chief governor labours under a difficulty unknown to some viceroys, and little considered by the last. He is apt to become too jocular a fellow, and to forget the dignity of his office in the lvity of his person; the delegated crown is too great a weight to be long sustained by every subject. We have seen the paltry actor sink into himself, before the royal mantle was laid aside, and the tragedy of his government concluded.

As to Lord Townshend, I shall say little of him. His spirit, his decorum, his ministry, his manners, all have been discussed, not much to his honour, still less to his reformation. Fortune raised this man to a ridiculous visibility, where the extravagant genius of his character fatally displayed itself. At one time he would elope from his office, and no man could say where the delegated crown had hid itself; at another time, business must follow him from haunt to haunt, and detect him with the most disgraceful company, in the most disgraceful intimacy. The old servants of the court, accustomed to the regularity of former times, looked up with astonishment to a comet that seemed to have broken from one sphere, to introduce confusion into another. With respect to his friendships, it was impossible to say whom he loved, and not easy to determine whether he loved any one; as to bounty, the favour was cancelled before it was conferred, and the object of it hated for ever. It is not strange that such a character should exist; but it is very strange, that in such a character there should be parts and genius; a momentary ray, which, like a faint wintry beam, shot and vanished. He had even starts of good feeling also, absorbed in a moment in the hurricane of his bosom, as his parts were lost in the clouds of his understanding. I speak of his foibles; as to his vices, I shall not dwell upon them. We saw this man arrayed like majesty, and felt indignation; we see him now descend from the throne, and are ashamed that he was ever an object of serious resentment. We leave him to the vacancy of a mind ill suited to retreat, and now accustomed to the farce of state, and the blunder of business. We leave him to a country that his talents will never injure, — to an office which we wish he may discharge better *, — and to a large patronage, from which we hope he may not derive a multitude of enemies.

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* He was afterwards created Master General of the Ordnance.

CHARACTER OF MR. PITT.*

1772.

The secretary stood alone. Modern degeneracy had not reached him. Original and unaccommodating, the features of his character had the hardihood of antiquity; his august mind overawed majesty; and one of his sovereigns† thought royalty so impaired in his presence, that he conspired to remove him, in order to be relieved from his superiority. No state chicanery, no narrow systems of vicious politics, no idle contest for ministerial victories sunk him to the vulgar level of the great; but, overbearing, persuasive, and impracticable, his object was England, — his ambition was fame; without dividing, he destroyed party; without corrupting he made a venal age unanimous; France sunk beneath him; with one hand he smote the house of Bourbon, and wielded in the other the democracy of England. The sight of his mind was infinite, and his schemes were to affect, not England, not the present age only, but Europe and posterity. Wonderful were the means by which these schemes were accomplished, always seasonable, always adequate, the suggestions of an understanding animated by ardour, and enlightened by prophecy.

The ordinary feelings which make life amiable and indolent, — those sensations which soften, and allure, and vulgarize, were unknown to him; no domestic difficulties, no domestic weakness reached him; but, aloof from the sordid occurrences of life, and unsullied by its intercourse, he came occasionally into our system to counsel and decide.

A character so exalted, so strenuous, so various, so authoritative, astonished a corrupt age, and the Treasury trembled at the name of Pitt through all her classes of venality. Corruption imagined, indeed, that she had found defects in this statesman, and talked much of the inconsistency of his glory, and much of the ruin of his victories; — but the history of his country, and the calamities of the enemy, answered and refuted her.

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* Lord Chatham.

† Not George II.

Nor were his political abilities his only talents; his eloquence was an æra in the senate, peculiar and spontaneous, familiarly expressing gigantic sentiments and instinctive wisdom, — not like the torrent of Demosthenes, or the splendid conflagration of Tully; it resembled, sometimes the thunder, and sometimes the music of the spheres. Like Murray *, he did not conduct the understanding through the painful subtility of argumentation; nor was he, like Townshend †, for ever on the rack of exertion, but rather lightened upon the subject, and reached the point by the flashings of his mind, which, like those of his eye, were felt, but could not be followed.

Yet he was not always correct or polished; on the contrary, he was sometimes ungrammatical, negligent, and unenforcing, for he concealed his art, and was superior to the knack of oratory. Upon many occasions he abated the vigour of his eloquence; but even then, like the spinning of a cannon-ball, he was still alive with fatal, unapproachable, activity.

Upon the whole, there was in this man something that could create, subvert, or reform; an understanding, a spirit, and an eloquence to summon mankind to society, or to break the bonds of slavery asunder, and rule the wildness of free minds with unbounded authority; something that could establish or overwhelm empire, and strike a blow in the world that should resound through its history.

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* Lord Mansfield.

† Mr. Charles Townshend. See his character in Burke's speech on American taxation.

OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
MUTINY BILL;
WITH SOME STRICTURES ON LORD BUCKINGHAMSHIRE'S ADMINISTRATION IN IRELAND.—1781.

ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

You have been active in the service of your country; you have been liberal in rewarding individuals; you have set an example of public virtue in your own conduct, and have encouraged it in others by the warmest panegyric. *

You have done this, in a country where patriotism had been timid, infrequent, and treacherous; and in an age when the principle was supposed to have perished; when the hearty intercourse of private life reconciled to state offenders, and clumsy good-humour compromised every public indignity; a great change in a short time has been wrought in the public mind; an alteration has followed in the national condition. I remember the state of this country before you formed your associations; I remember your condition before you took up arms; I see the change, and rejoice at it. It was not your fault that we have not more reason to rejoice; that trade and constitution, so near a happy settlement, should be thrown back into a state of suspense; that the nation has been stung when she began to repose; and that they who are the loudest to preach satisfaction, have been bribed to furnish new grounds of discontent.

The people of Ireland are not ungrateful, nor insatiable, nor seditious; but no people will be satisfied who conceive themselves cheated of a free grant of trade, and see a constitution rescued out of the hands of one parliament to be

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* See proceedings and resolutions of the Irish volunteers.

mangled by another. You perceive I allude to the sugar and mutiny bills. I mean to make the latter the subject of this letter.

I am not afraid of the people of Ireland; I have an opinion of their understanding, and a confidence in their integrity; I do not agree in that vulgar and courtly notion, that political discussion idles a nation. With the examples before me of Great Britain and the north of Ireland, I say the spirit of liberty brings on the spirit of trade, and that our immediate interest is our proper study: arms and liberty, the great securities of acquisition, cannot be inconsistent with the habits of acquiring; the manufacturer does not become weak by discipline, nor is the elector disfranchised by being armed. In every free state, politics should be the study of all; a mystery to the people, they become the trade of the great; the political monopolist is a hardened jobber. That state is indeed prosperous which can produce an armed, disciplined, industrious, vigilant, and constitutional people.

But of all nations, Ireland should apply herself to the study of her own rights, because her constitution is now forming, the nation is moulding; whatever hurt she now receives, we carry that cast of infirmity from the cradle to the grave. Our liberty as yet has received no express acknowledgements, from the resolutions of parliament, from the declarations of judges, or from the assent of the chief magistrate; it depends upon the steady sense which the people entertain of their own laws, and upon the power they retain to render that sense efficacious. We obtained trade and liberty in the character of an armed, active community; in that character will we preserve them: we will discuss political questions; we will discuss and condemn even such as have obtained, through bribery, the approbation of Parliament; corruption prevailing in the senate shall not silence the nation. Upon these principles, I submit to you some observations upon the perpetual mutiny bill.

I conceive that standing armies in peace are against the principles of the constitution, and the safety of public liberty; they have subverted the freedom of all nations, except in those instances where their numbers were small, or the power of the Sovereign over such an instrument limited in quality or duration; for it is in vain to set bounds to the authority of the chief magistrate in other matters by the general tendency of law, if a specific statute or ordinance shall give him a perpetual and irresistible force. In such a case, the law would invest the king with a power too strong for herself, and would make provision for her own violation; and as the army itself is dangerous, so also is that code of law by which such an establishment is regulated and accommodated. The mutiny bill, or martial law methodized, is not only different from, but directly opposite to, the common law of the land; it sets aside her trial by jury, departs from her principles of evidence, declines her ordinary tribunals of justice, and in their place establishes a summary proceeding, arbitrary crimes, arbitrary punishments, a secret sentence, and a sudden execution. It invests his Majesty with a power to ordain what new offences, and establish what new punishments he shall in his discretion think fit, provided the punishment do not extend to life or limb. "A vast and important trust," says the author of the Commentaries, speaking of an annual, not a perpetual mutiny bill; "an unlimited power to create crimes, and annex to them any punishment not extending to life or limb. These are forbidden to be inflicted, except for crimes declared to be punishable by this act; among which we may observe, that any disobedience to lawful commands is one."

The object of this code is to bring those who are reached by it to a state of implicit subordination, and to create in their Sovereign an absolute authority. It furnishes a perfect image of arbitrary power. Accordingly the people of England, whose maxims we should admire and emulate, jealous on all subjects which relate to liberty, have exceeded, on the subject of the army, their usual caution; they have, in the preamble of their annual mutiny bill, claimed their birthright; they recite part of the declaration of right, "that standing armies and martial law in peace, without the consent of Parliament, are illegal;" and having stated the simplicity and purity of their ancient constitution, and having set forth a great principle of Magna Charta, they admit a partial and temporary repeal of it; they admit an army and a law for its regulation, but they limit the number of the former, and the duration of both; confining all the troops themselves, the law that regulates, and the power that commands them, to *one year*. Thus is the army of England rendered a parliamentary army, the constitutional ascendancy of the subject over the soldier, preserved; the military rendered effectually subordinate to the civil magistrate, because dependent on parliament; the government of the sword controlled in its exercise, because limited in its duration; and the King entrusted with the command of the army, during good behaviour only. And yet that wise people have hitherto considered the army, thus limited, thus dependent, thus qualified, and thus sheathed, as a necessary evil; and will not even admit of barracks, lest the soldier should be still more alienated from the state of a subject, and thus alienated and armed, have a post of strength, and aggravate the dangerous nature of his condition by the advantage of his situation.

When the Parliament of Ireland proceeded to regulate the army, I conceive it should have adopted the maxims of the British constitution, as much as the rules of British discipline; I conceive that it ought to be the policy of this country to go step by step with the British nation in all her wise regulations; and not only adopt her constitution, but pursue the wise and aged maxims which she has formed for its preservation; that mutual liberty may be common strength; that England may not be our tyrant, nor we her enslaver; that Ireland may not be a prerogative country with a constitution inverted, a bad lesson to kings, poisoning their minds with false notions of government, and arming their hands with unconstitutional powers. We have, however, departed from the example and maxims of England; we have done so in the most important concern, the government of the sword; and in three most material instances: we have omitted in our mutiny bill the preamble which declares the great charter of liberty; we have left the number of forces in the breast of his Majesty; and, under these circumstances, we have made the bill perpetual.

This is to depart from the prudence of England, in the very case where we should have surpassed her in caution, because we have all her reasons to dread a standing army, and many reasons of our own likewise; we have no foreign dominions to preserve, and we have a constitution to lose, by the violence of an army, by the encroachments of the prince, and by the usurped authority of the British Parliament. The liberty of this country has indeed been asserted by the inhabitants, but has received no adequate acknowledgment on the part of his Majesty; on the contrary, his Excellency's confidential secretary did, on the part of the government, officially, from a written paper, declare that he opposed the introduction of the Irish mutiny bill, upon the principle, "that he conceived it unnecessary, — that the English act extended to Ireland;" also his Majesty's Attorney-general did assert, that the British Parliament could bind Ireland. Likewise, his Excellency, just before the arrival of the Irish bill, ordered the troops to change quarters, guarding, by a cotemporary comment, against whatever the bill might import in favour of our liberty. Also the post-office is kept up in this country without seeking an Irish act, contrary to an express engagement, without any legal existence whatsoever, yet affecting to stand upon a British statute.

After such declarations and such acts of government, the name of Ireland exhibited in the British mutiny act, during the subsistence of the contest, with the example of America before us, to arm the chief magistrate, or rather, indeed, to arm the claims of the British Parliament with a perpetual law, for the regulation and accommodation of any indefinite number of troops his Majesty is pleased to keep up in Ireland, appears to me a measure of an unwarrantable and unseasonable, a corrupt and a crazy, confidence.

I must observe, that the army, thus rendered by our law unconfined in its numbers, and by the same law made independent of Parliament for its regulation, however brave and respectable, is not a native army, but of that very country which claims to make law for Ireland; also, I must observe, that the minister who, in fact, governs that army, is a British minister, not responsible to your Parliament, nor resident in your country; so that now, by this pernicious bill, this minister, alien in affection, contemptuous in disposition, distant in situation, and free from the control of an expirable authority, may send into this country any number of troops which the return of his pride may require, and the collected strength of the empire, at the close of the war, shall be able to furnish; and he may billet them upon you, in execution of any project of power, or avarice, or revenge; to collect a British tax, or disperse an Irish association, or trample on an Irish spirit; and the people of this country have the mortification to think that they may, by their own law, a law grafted on their best exertions, be obliged to billet and accommodate troops quartered upon them for their destruction: or, though his Majesty's ministers may not choose to come to extremity, yet may they gradually, and at their leisure, armed with our law, and encouraged by our humiliation, raise new regiments, — a measure both of corruption and force; or throw into this kingdom such a body of troops as may break her spirit, watch her motions, control her free action, and, finally, make those who before thought it inexpedient to deny, soon think it inexpedient to resist, the usurped authority of the British Parliament. I say, the minister may do this at his leisure, and build by degrees a system of tyranny on the foundation of our own law. Princes could not destroy liberty by force, if they had not obtained that force by law; nor was any nation ever enslaved, who might not have found in herself the efficient causes of her own servitude: her laws become a suggestion to the tyrant;

the principle of political death is laid by the false guardians of public liberty.

When I consider the critical situation of this country, I must suppose a mutiny bill, even for eighteen months, an act of confidence, justified by necessity only; that the minister would not have abused that confidence is more than probable: limitation of period changes the nature and softens the exercise of power: before an attempt could be brought to bear, before a sufficient number of forces could be conveniently collected, or before they could be ready for action, the act which kept them together might expire, and the crown, in the attempt, lose its revival: despotism would have wanted a root; the law, in this case, — and the wisdom of a free people can do no more than take the best chance for their liberty, and multiply difficulties on those who should invade it, instead of making the passage easy and natural — the law, I say, in this case, would stand in the way of the early encroachment; the apprehension of this would deter the attempt; the army is prevented from flying off for ever from the law, by periodically touching the sphere of the constitution. England has found a limited mutiny bill innoxious, but would not listen to a perpetual one. In fact, mutiny bills are limited on the same principle as money bills; both are certain to be renewed; but on the return to the people of the powers which both include, the purse and the sword, depends whatever of limitation is annexed to prerogative, or of privilege is annexed to Parliament.

I have still hopes, if his Majesty's ministers should make an unconstitutional use of this perpetual mutiny bill, our Parliament would struggle for freedom — would refuse its assent to the additional supply and the military establishment, expecting that his Majesty's forces would want provision under the first measure, and disperse under the authority of the last. I think his Majesty's forces ought, but I do believe they would not: in strict constitution, I do think the specific consent of Parliament is still necessary for the continuation of our army. I think farther, that the present mutiny bill expires with the Parliament that made it; but these are points which an army will not comprehend, — no, it will make good its quarters by the sword. Our best security, therefore, for the privileges which we have left, does not consist in the powers which our Parliament has reserved, but in other resources: the spirit of the nation is high, her ministers are distracted, her liberty is in force, her volunteers are numerous, and the mischief of a military government is suspended by an armed people.

I must further observe to you, that the mutiny bill is not only dangerous from the above considerations, but from others which I will state to you. The revenue of this country is not granted in a manner favourable to public liberty. The hereditary revenue is above 600,000*l.* *per annum;* the increase of that revenue, assisted by trade, and eased of additional duties, would be considerable. Hitherto his Majesty's ministers in Ireland have lavished the public money for the purpose of increasing the undue influence of the Crown; but if what is now employed to render Parliament subservient, should be applied to maintain an army independent of Parliament; if power in this country should take the shape of economy; if his Majesty's ministers, encouraged by this law, should try new councils and old resources, I do not say they would succeed; God forbid! But I do say, it was worthy of Parliament to have removed the danger by a limited mutiny bill, instead of prompting the experiment by a perpetual law. I must add, that as an ample revenue is perpetual, so is the power of collecting it perpetual, provided his Majesty do not call a Parliament; for the revenue bill is by an express clause to continue until the end of the then next session of Parliament. These are great defects in our constitution, very great indeed! they have produced a train of the worst consequences; for to these perpetual grants of revenue and power, capable of being cured by a limited mutiny bill, but aggravated by a perpetual one, — to these grants do I attribute the frequent insults which, with the interval of a few months in the beginning of the last session, have been offered to the Irish Parliament, and the sottish compliance with which those insults have been borne; the frequent, studious, and almost periodical breach of the privilege of the Irish House of Commons in the alteration of her money bills; the solemn protest imposed, and I might say branded, on the journals of the Lords against the inherent and exclusive right of the Commons, to originate bills of supply; the tedious, lawless, wanton, and successive embargoes frequently laid during the sitting of Parliament, and without its consultation; the continuing to pay, by virtue of King's letter, the very pensions which the House of Commons had repeatedly disallowed; the refusing to give any account of great sums disbursed by the Privy Council under the denomination of *Concordatum,* and screened from enquiry under the impudent hypocrisy of an oath; from the grants I speak of, has proceeded the plunder of our people, as well as the insults on our Parliament; the vast, indecent, and increasing number of places, pensions, salaries, additional salaries, &c. &c. and all that bold rapine, promoted by a desperate series of wretched Viceroys. From these grants has proceeded another evil, the pregnant cause of many more, — no man in Ireland is responsible for any thing; the Lord Lieutenant is not responsible; his secretary is not responsible; his dependants are not responsible; the inferior servants of the Crown, glorying in a base impunity, plead they are but the drudge of power: the superior criminal is shifted, the crime is continued, the grievance is accumulated, and the nation is cheated both of redress and justice. From these grants has proceeded that argument or threat of insolent admonition and court common-place, which justifies prodigality as the only security and charter for the being of Parliament; *viz.* "You have granted so much for ever, that if government were as frugal as you desire, it could do without you," says the flippancy of the Castle to a committee of accounts: and certainly though these grants were not arguments for crimes, they were strong reasons against concessions, they were strong reasons for a limited mutiny bill, necessary to the general principles of the constitution, and a specific for the weakness of ours, better than an increase of expence or an accumulation of debt, or any of those bankrupt experiments which would cure the mischief of giving for ever by wasting the grant, and which seek in the beggary of the state the powers of the constitution. But we have rejected the remedy, and have nourished and invigorated the disease; for to an ample revenue independent of Parliament, and a revenue bill in a great measure independent of Parliament, we have added a mutiny bill independent of Parliament likewise; a mischief greater than the others, added to the others, and bringing all the others to bear, forming this kingdom into an operative system, arbitrary power, a perpetual revenue, an eventual perpetual power of collection, and the perpetual dominion of the sword.

I am the more anxious at enlarging the independency of the minister on the Irish Parliament, because I recollect how tenacious the former has been of that independency; for he has strenuously endeavoured to save the hereditary revenue from diminution, and has felt the most lively jealousy of public bounties payable out of that revenue as so much taken from the Crown not paid by the subject, and has given that style in orders to those who are under him; and in the last session he exerted all his influence to diminish, and did diminish, the bounty on the carriage of corn, to ease the perpetual revenue, and rescue the crown from what he seemed to dread, a *growing* dependency on the Irish parliament: also the minister in England, in 1770, did insert in the revenue bill the perpetuating clause, though it was omitted here; from all which I conceive that the independence of the Crown in Ireland has been, at least in the contemplation of his Majesty's minister, as something which may be resorted to hereafter, and which in the meantime fortifies the abuse of power, and intimidates the assertion of privilege.

Nor have we only the hereditary revenue of Ireland to fear, but all the resources of the British nation capable of being employed to feed an army to enforce the laws of the British Parliament. I hope the liberties of this country may last for ever,—against the ambition of kings,—against the usurpation or the compliance of Parliaments, — against power, corruption, or fear, — against our enemies, — against ourselves. I have a confidence in the British nation, which makes me hope she would not agree to enforce by arms in this country the authority even of her own Parliament; but this consideration will never justify that unwarrantable law which enables his Majesty to regulate and billet in Ireland whatever number of forces the hereditary revenue of Ireland, and all the aids he can get from England and elsewhere will sustain, to execute the worst purposes of a minister thus armed by the act of our Parliament, provoked by the triumphs of our people, and from the first an enemy to our pretensions.

And while I speak of the liberties of Ireland diminished by this perpetual law, I cannot overlook those of England considerably exposed by it; exposed by a law which, in the neighbourhood of the British nation, forms a military government, establishes an unconstitutional prerogative, and erects a place of arms; so that hereafter, if the British Parliament should attempt to control a military prince by the power which she conceives is reserved by her annual mutiny bill, her intention may be frustrated by our law; the British troops, illegal in England, may be removed to Ireland, and kept up here against her; the limitation of her law is repealed in the perpetual duration of ours, its purpose is lost, and this island is formed into an immense barrack, to accommodate the military ambition of some king in his defiance of the British nation, in the unconstitutional continuation, arbitrary increase, and violent application of his army. The British nation has thought her liberty in danger, if the King, by his own authority, in peace, could keep up an army on one side the channel: will she think her liberty safe if he can do, of his own authority, the very same thing on the other? It was not the intention of the Irish nation to endanger the constitution of England; no, our object was to control her usurpation and secure her liberty.

Nor will the British minister be able to prove this bill innoxious to England, by stating the act of William, enlarged by the 9th of this reign, imposing on Ireland an army not exceeding 15,000 men: for though in the British senate the minister may assert the validity of such acts of power, and maintain the supremacy of the British Parliament to enslave Ireland; yet if it were a measure to enslave England, he would assert his Irish prerogatives, occasionally applying the tyrannical claims of one country, and the military resources of the other, against the liberty of both. That the Irish minister shall have made his peace with the British cabinet by such a measure, I can well imagine; but will he ever be forgiven by England? Will England be reconciled to that minister who, atoning for the service which Ireland has done to herself, shakes a central principle of common liberty, and compensates for partial good by general evil.

I must also consider this perpetual mutiny bill with respect to the army itself, as a great hardship; for it subjects to an absolute, endless, and irresponsible power, many thousand brave men, taken totally and for ever out of the protection of the common law, and delivered up to the clemency of the monarch, like the soldiers, not of England, but of military governments and absolute kings. And as the army is thus taken out of the protection of the common law, so may it be weaned from all love and affection to it; and instead of constitutional principles, vain and empty notions inculcated, an extravagant spirit and zeal of obedience, a false veneration for power, accompanied with a contempt for the law. And though no attempt should be made on liberty, yet may this kingdom feel long and severely this bad law, in frequent insults on the civil power, in military tumults and armed outrage; events which are common in military provinces, and are the natural effect of a power of arms, independent of the legislature, resident in the state, and yet no part of the common law, inconsistent with the genius of the constitution, suspicious and suspected, endless and unconfined. For whatever may be the provisions of the mutiny bill, the military power is subordinate to the civil, because dependent on the legislature. It is in vain to expect the soldier made independent of Parliament will have any great respect for a justice of peace. The cautionary parts of the bill which we have taken from England, prove how much she feared that instrument which we have made perpetual. We did not want admonition on this subject; we had seen many military excesses exhibited in this country with slight observation indeed, but which in England could not have happened without exemplary punishment; the only shocking outrages of late have been committed by men bearing the King's commission. Our country has been a theatre of such scenes: our government has been a supine spectator of such practices, and has forwarded military disorders by barbarous mercy or unwarrantable indolence, as if it was not displeased to see the army placed above the law by that very impunity which destroys its discipline. The army of Ireland has not been regulated by the Parliament of the country, and from thence is taught to conceive itself the army of another kingdom put upon a province, and not the forces of a nation under her law. This affectation, like the tumults I speak of, has been encouraged by government, and is now confirmed by the law.

I have stated some objections to this bill, but pass over many: the creating crimes, courts, and punishments, without any express words, but by a clause of reference to illegal practices which obtained under the British act of mutiny and desertion, and which should not have received even a remote countenance from the Irish Parliament. I pass over this and more, but must dwell on one grand objection, which is, that Parliament, in passing a perpetual mutiny bill, has exceeded its powers.

I conceive that parliaments are neither eternal nor omnipotent; their powers are not original, but delegated, and their delegation is to act within the frame of the constitution, not to alter, still less to destroy it. I therefore conceive, that a perpetual mutiny bill is beyond the power of Parliament, inasmuch as it creates in the Crown a perpetual legislative authority distinct from, and totally independent of the constitutional legislature of the realm: and I do imagine, that Parliament might, with as much regard for the principles of the constitution, and more regard for its safety, have moulded a committee of either House, for certain great purposes, into a distinct sovereign legislature, and have armed that committee with a perpetual power, as have transferred the same power to one man. I also conceive, that Parliament has exceeded its authority, not only in making one estate, and that the chief magistrate (who, by the genius of the constitution, has but a negative in the formation of laws), with respect to the army in all cases not affecting life or limb, a perpetual legislature; but in divesting for ever itself, and the people, of a great portion of their legislative authority: the House of Commons is but your trustee; according to the nature of a trust, the House of Commons is to exercise, not alienate, your power. A perpetual mutiny bill is not merely an act of pains and penalties; it is not merely a law of regulation; it is a solid grant of vast and summary powers from the nation at large to the Crown; and a perpetual mutiny bill is a perpetual alienation of the powers of the kingdom at large, by octennial trustees incompetent to alien for ever, whether we consider the nature of their trust, or the limited period of their existence. It is therefore, I say, that in strict constitution the present mutiny bill expires with the present Parliament; and the crown lawyers are called upon and defied to support this measure on any ground, by any argument drawn from any legal source, from practice or principle, the power of Parliament, the maxims of the constitution, or the example of former time: and I am the more alarmed at this measure, because, being a solemn surrender of a principal branch of the powers of Parliament, thus by its own act, divested of its inherent attributes, or rather, being a partial extinction of the body itself, it is founded upon a principle and disposition which, if tolerated at all, go too far, and threaten and authorize the surrender, not of a part only, but of the whole of what remains to the Irish Parliament of legislative authority: the principle entitles Parliament to repeal the octennial bill; it entitles Parliament to give whatever the treasury will buy or the adventurer part with; it entitles Parliament to make the King absolute.

Hereafter, when the period of the present Parliament shall arrive, the representatives will not give back to the people the power with which, for eight years only, they were entrusted; they will not give you back your birthright; they will not give you back the British constitution. And though Parliament did not exercise formerly its inherent right to regulate the army as well as every other branch of the state; and though the weakness of the kingdom furnished an excuse to her Parliament for omitting to claim and put forth its privileges, yet, until now, for this last century, we did not divest ourselves of any part of them, nor did Parliament dismember itself of its essential attributes, nor prevent the constitution from recovering itself by its own native vigour or recuperative principle. There is, I conceive, a great difference between the dormant powers of Parliament, and a formal surrender of them; between a right in reserve, and a right which is no more: neither do I think it just to draw parallels between what we are now, and what we were when afraid to assert constitution and trade — implicit under the approaches of impending ruin. I do not conceive that any man proposed to himself that Ireland should remain everlastingly a beggar and a slave; the nation seemed in humble expectation of some happy redemption — this was the time — your representatives are responsible to you for a great opportunity; never was a Parliament so favoured by the conjuncture, or so backed by the people.

As soon as trade was opened, the Irish nation, conceiving that her associations and charter would be a reproach, if, notwithstanding both, she consented to be governed by laws which she did not make; conceiving also, that nothing in justice or policy, in the real or the apparent interest of Great Britain, stood in the way of liberty; denied, in her different counties and cities, the supremacy of the British Parliament; and having herself asserted liberty, instructed her representatives to give to that assertion the solemnity of a law, or the countenance of a resolution. You saw the policy of declaring your sentiments, that England might see the danger of invading, your own Parliament the safety of asserting, and all, the prudence of allowing rights of which an armed and chartered nation proclaimed herself tenacious. You proceeded in this great business like a serious animated nation, who entertained a deep sense of her privileges, and a calm determination to maintain them. It was not the measure of a faction, it was not the act of a party, but of a people, rising up like one man to claim their freedom; a whole people, long depressed, and cruelly derided, flocking together with the most perfect order, and each individual, man by man, from his own lips preferring his right to be free! That people! the Irish nation, whose grossness, tameness, and disorder, had been a subject of ribaldry to themselves, to those very men of our own country, to whose inconstant, mean, frivolous, and venal political habits, you now gave the soundest lessons of constitution, and the brightest example of order: neither was this great act confined to one persuasion, but Protestant and Papist, their ancient animosity in such a cause subsiding, signed the same declaration of right; and those whom neither time, nor severity, nor lenity, nor the penal code, nor its relaxation, had been able to unite, in freedom found a rapid reconciliation; a certain flame rectified the humours of superstition. The time had arrived when the spirit of truth and liberty should descend upon the man of the Romish persuasion, and touch his Catholic lips with public fire. He was tried and was found faithful; he was weighed in the balance and proved sufficient: we have learned at last a simple, but great truth, that one man is like another, and that all men wish to be free. I have been told the Roman Catholic had no right to sign instructions. I do not inquire into the right; I am satisfied with the fact; for the Catholic, taking a constitutional test, qualifies, and is, in conscience and equity, constituted a brother and fellow-citizen. In short, such were your measures and declarations, that I defy the most learned of your traducers, from all the store of their reading, to produce any thing comparable to the conduct of the Irish nation. And I will further say, that if it had not been you who had spoken, but the laws you were employed to restore; if the law had put forth a voice and promulgated herself, she had not been revealed in accents of more truth, temper, and purity. You shook off the tyranny of the English; you deterred the invasion of the French; you restored the liberties of the Irish; you gave operation to law; you gave civilization to manners; you raised a drooping province; you humbled a saucy ministry; you compassed a mighty revolution; you became a theme of public worship, and the subject of just and necessary thanksgiving; they who abhor, revered you; nations you never heard of, spoke of you; nothing was wanting but the uniform concurrence of your Parliament, to have placed the Irish nation on the broad foundation of liberty, and the summit of fame.

In your great effort you met, however, with difficulties; not from the English nation, but the Irish administration, who had engaged to the British minister, that Ireland, indulged in her requisition for trade, should not bethink herself of constitutional reformation; and accordingly, personal application was made to many, hoping that they would oppose the discussion of all political questions in Parliament; and also, wherever they had property, credit, or character, would prevent the people from expressing their sentiments. The representations of our minister were to receive the colour of truth, by concealing the temper and state of the nation. In this application the Irish minister found accomplices; by such the blessings of the British constitution were represented as a speculative good, and the loss of these blessings as a speculative evil. Attempts were made to debase and poison the public mind, by deterring it from questions which related to liberty as above comprehension and incompatible with industry. Resolutions expressive of our entire satisfaction in the recent extent of trade, were proposed in the Commons, with a dark design to dissolve the nation's spirit, and prevent the recovery of her constitution, that so this country might sit down a commercial province, and not seize the opportunity of becoming a free kingdom: nor did such men endeavour to mislead your understanding only, they defamed your character.

The great and glorious effort which I have just related, to shake off the yoke of the British Parliament, was vilified as an attempt to sever from the British nation, as if the connection was preserved by the circumstance which disgraced it, or the two nations were linked together like lord and vassal, and not united by common privilege as fellow-subjects and fellow-freemen. They, whose friends had been neglected, or whose corrupt and written proposals had been refused, and who, under that disgust, had opposed Lord Buckingham on the subject of commerce, now, having made up matters with the court, opposed the people on the subject of liberty. They who had been accustomed to make private advantage of public injuries, and who had supported their retainers on their suffrages, blessed indeed with ample property, but, by a servile following, made dependent upon government, opposed the return of your liberty, as they had, until hurried away in the tide of 1779, opposed the extension of your trade. They charged your struggle for liberty as a design against property, a conspiracy to rob the great by a pillaging commonalty; they made this charge with the style and air of authority, as if property entitled the proprietor not only to sell himself, but to sell and load the public with his comrades and sycophants, and added consequence and consecration to such infamous traffic. They who hated the people from whom they had just proceeded: they who had little principle and no property, except your spoil; they who fear lest this kingdom should become too considerable to be bought aud sold; all those who flourish in a province, and would sink in a nation; that inferior species of plausible character, actuated by little objects and a weak intellect, formed to shine in a court, but shrivel in a free country, fell into the same idle, insolent, conceited way of talking. On the other hand, they who wished to restore the rights of this kingdom, were represented as seditious men, friends to anarchy, enemies to the British nation and their own; though they had no personal views, no friend, no following, no mortification, no expectation, no object for these nations, but to free one, and endear both; in a word, the whole nation was traduced in a foolish, wanton, and wicked address, concerted to stop her growth, and to fix her political distempers, but attended with the immediate effect of rousing her virtue. You persisted; and, though these obstructions held you out to England as a divided people, and lost you the terror of your name; lost you the declaratory resolution; lost you the repeal of the law of Poynings; entailed upon you the lesser duty on sugar, and the perpetual mutiny bill; yet, in a great degree, you prevailed. But, if some men of property, (I say, some, for the weight of property beyond comparison, was on your side,) had acted as they ought; if some of them had not gone the last length against their country upon every question; if some had been steady on any question; if some of them had taken as much pains to establish the British constitution as they did take to promote or translate their creatures; or if they had not taken pains to keep the nation down, the session had been perfect; yet, in a great degree, you prevailed; and, having universally denied the supremacy of the British Parliament, and, by your act and energy, supported by the individual declarations of your representatives, put an end to the British law of mutiny and desertion in Ireland, you made it necessary for the crown to apply to the Irish Parliament for a law to regulate the army; you revived to your own Parliament its inherent and dormant authority, its sole and exclusive right to regulate His Majesty's forces in Ireland; you gave the power into the hands of your representatives, and they surrendered it for ever to the crown. I lament this act, not only on account of the constitution which we have endangered, of the power and opportunity which we have lost, but of the example which we have left; for the noblest struggle ever made by a people to shake off tyranny, has been, in this instance, converted into a change of tyrants, and the British minister put in the place of the British Parliament. A government, approaching to a military one, has been imposed upon us by our own law; our virtue has been turned against ourselves, and punished by our own Parliament; a public and concluding disgrace has been thrown upon our past efforts, and a melancholy damp cast on our future.

There is a certain national character, there is a dignity, without which no people can look for respect or privilege; a nation's character is her shield; the people's majesty a sacred defence; public pride a mighty protection. It is therefore I not only feel the constitution stabbed by this perpetual mutiny bill, but see with concern other great and solid securities trampled upon; the maxims of public pride, of parliamentary consistency, and national dignity, violated; a Parliament, the most respectable that ever sat in this country, made to adopt the dictates of the British council, and forego its own recorded opinions, suffering the British minister to mould our constitution, as the British manufacturers have been suffered to regulate our commerce; the nation itself involved and scandalized in the compliance of her legislature, and exhibited to Great Britain as a vain boaster; a certain ridicule cast upon her declarations, exertions, and arms; and the British minister taught by ourselves to repent of past concessions, and encouraged for the future to make a bold and unconstitutional stand against the just desires and obvious rights of the Irish nation.

I have heard it urged as an excuse for this pernicious and disgraceful measure, that it was a matter of necessity. A mutiny bill was necessary: you made it necessary; but the necessity lay on the king, not on his people. You did not want an army to defend your lives and properties; you did not want an army to support your claims; you did not want an army to give protection and confidence to your servants; you were yourselves an army adequate to all your own purposes; your safety reposed with your liberty, where both ought ever to reside, *in the nation's right hand.* It was His Majesty, whose power, influence, servants, pride, attachment, all were in that great question involved. You had the key to the royal heart; the instrument of power was in your hand; the Crown was a suppliant to the Irish nation, not for revenue, but for what princes value more, the army; and must have taken it, as the King takes his revenue, and took his crown, upon the terms which his subjects, in their wisdom, were pleased to ordain; and had your Parliament chosen to have annexed the great charter which they who formed the bill, knowing the House, prudently declined; but had your Parliament chosen to have annexed the great charter to the mutiny bill, the British minister must have finally complied; his own bayonet would have forced Magna Charta upon him, and standing armies, in general hostile to liberty, might have been rendered the involuntary and miraculous instrument of its establishment. Never did a nation stand so entrenched; never was a post of strength so lost! Do not believe that vulgar threat, that the king would have disbanded his army; arguments of this kind are not to be listened to, nor are those in earnest who resort to them; nor should the ministers of kings be suffered to tell the subjects of this country that His Majesty *will not* permit his Irish Parliament, like that of Great Britain, from time to time, to regulate its own military establishment; or, that His Majesty *will not* receive great and unconstitutional powers, such as a limited mutiny bill communicates, except upon terms more extraordinary and more unconstitutional: as well might the minister ask for absolute power, and denounce, on the hesitation of Parliament, an abdication of the crown. But this argument was not founded on the firmness of the minister by whom it was invented, but in the folly or the corruption of those to whom it was applied. The mutiny bill was not made perpetual because the British minister would not take a limited, but because the Irish Parliament was known to be ready to give him a perpetual, dominion over the army; the minister would have been satisfied with a good bill, but preferred a bad one; the attack on your liberty had never been made, if the surrender had not been previously and clandestinely covenanted; it was not a determined minister, but a willing Parliament.

I have heard that the bill, though perpetual, is a benefit, because it carries the principle, *viz.* that the King, Lords, and Commons, are the only body competent to make law for Ireland. Parliament might have declared that principle; but this bill does not declare it by express words or necessary construction, or concomitant circumstances. The principle to the extent of this kingdom was carried before, and being once established here, carried itself in Great Britain, unless we gave the Crown a power of shaking this principle by arms: the bill coming back under the seal of Great Britain, had the assent of the Crown to whatever proposition it contained. If the House of Commons had sought an argument in support of liberty, they should have passed the express declaration of rights; if they looked to solid strength, they should have kept the army dependent upon themselves, they should have acted upon a principle that could be reconciled to theory or practice; they should not, upon any ground either of argumentative or actual security, have declined a declaration of right, and afterward surrender the dominion of the sword; adopting a line of conduct far below firmness, and above caution; arming without fear, by a perpetual mutiny bill, that very power which they had trembled to provoke by an assertion of their liberty.

The objection preferred against a declaration of right was, that a nation's liberty could not be determined by the words of the House of Commons, but the powers of the country; had the declaration weakened her power, though it asserted her liberty, the passing it had been inexpedient, and therefore a perpetual mutiny bill, not asserting in any terms the right, and in the most full and effectual terms diminishing the power, of the country, was upon no principle to be justified, neither by the arguments of those who supported a declaration of right, nor of the men who opposed it. That we have gotten free from all the laws of the British Parliament by the mutiny bill, I deny; for the post-office remains. That we have gotten free from the insult, I deny; for Ireland is named in the new British act.* That we have gotten free from the exercise of the British mutiny bill by our own, I deny; for the British act has expired in our determination to disobey it.

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* When this was written, it had been determined by the British ministry in the present English mutiny bill, to name Ireland; which determination, upon reconsideration since the publication of this pamphlet, after a debate in council, was altered.

Our situation, vigour, and spirit, was such, at that particular time, that nothing could have injured us, but our own laws, nor have disgraced us, but our own Parliament. Nor let the nation deceive itself so much as to think that the British minister, who has sent us a perpetual bill, admits the liberty of Ireland. No! he is an enemy to your liberty: he thinks, that the British Parliament by its laws, the King by his prerogative, that each and both, can make articles of war for this country; and, therefore, he has made the bill perpetual, that the Irish Parliament may never again attempt to exercise what in his opinion better belongs to others, the power of regulating his Majesty's forces. It was impossible to prevent the just claims of the Irish nation: the minister who denied, could do no more than get rid of them for ever; and, accordingly, has annexed a clause of surrender to the very law in which those claims were advanced, saving his own pretensions and rebuking yours: he has striken the nation in the flight of her glory.

I have heard it urged in mitigation of the mischief of this law, that notwithstanding this law, His Majesty cannot keep up his army without the express consent of Parliament, given from session to session. I have said so; I think also, that His Majesty cannot charge his hereditary revenue with pensions. But I see, though these are points of law, they are not posts of strength: the perpetual nature of the laws of which we speak and complain, — those dangerous laws which give the King the purse, and that disgraceful law which gives him the sword, — enables him to misapply both; to waste your treasure, and keep up your army without the control of Parliament. The latter law, the mutiny bill, I conceive, by this argument, not proved to be safe, but rendered cruel and absurd; for it is a statute at variance with the common law, a statute making it capital at all times to desert the army, which is at no time legal without the consent of Parliament; and which may thus be kept together by force to be fed by rapine. And here I cannot but observe, that this argument did not occur before, but was invented for the occasion; and is a despicable apology and poor point of law to the observance of which we have annexed the penalty of death, giving up solid strength, and hanging on such perilous, speculative, and fantastic security, the vast and weighty charge of public liberty. France, Spain, kingdoms that have no liberty, I dare say, have similar points of law: but the ear of a military government will not listen to such things, they are the sad devices of an infamous cause, and the last gaspings of exhausted argument; they are only of weight when the people have reserved a solid strength which makes such arguments unnecessary; they are fortresses to which no man would retire, but he who was determined to capitulate.

I have heard it said that the army is imperial in its nature, and therefore that no part of it should be left to the Irish Parliament for its regulation: but this proposition wants truth in its premise, and is false and absurd in its consequence. The army is not imperial, the constitution does not conceive an empire, neither is it founded upon maxims imperial or military. The law of England which establishes the army makes it parliamentary, not imperial; the law of Ireland which provides for the army, makes it an Irish, not an imperial army. The premise therefore is false, the conclusion is false and absurd; for if the premise were true, it would conclude, not for a perpetual, but against any Irish mutiny bill; for the English mutiny bill; for the supremacy of the British Parliament.

This argument, thus founded on an ignorance of the constitution in general, and of the establishment of the army in particular, and leading to the entire destruction of our liberty, has sought for strength in another argument equally feeble; *viz.* "That unity of discipline is necessary, and that therefore the army in every part of the dominions should be subject to one power." But this observation proceeds from an ignorance of the service, as the other was derived from an ignorance of the constitution. Unity of discipline is not necessary; it is not the case of armies in actual service; it is not the case of the army now in America; it was not the case of the allied army in the last war in Germany; neither is unity of command necessary to establish unity of discipline; neither does the perpetual mutiny bill establish unity of command. Moreover, if unity of discipline is necessary, we are not to suppose that the Irish Parliament will not secure it, by adopting the English military code; we are not to suppose our Parliament inadequate to the wholesome exercise of its authority over every branch of the establishment, military as well as civil; neither are we to conceive the Crown incapable of abusing, and the Parliament incapable of using an important article of legislative power; neither having trespassed upon the common law to admit an army, are we to commit further and indefinite depredations to establish unity of command, under the quaint pretence of securing unity of discipline. But the perpetual mutiny bill does neither. It does not establish unity of command; and it endangers unity and equality of discipline, by making the principal articles of war perpetual in Ireland, which are annual in Great Britain; by establishing an army here of a distinct nature, and military powers in the Crown of a different extent and duration from what was ever attempted or would be endured in Great Britain. Imperial armies, imperial legislatures, imperial unities, are terms, in my mind, of very little meaning; they are the vanities of the British Court, harassing the connections of the British nation; unconscious of limit, subversive of liberty, and a stranger to the law; in their theory, they are insult, and in their application, war.

I have heard it suggested that the mischief of a perpetual mutiny bill exists in speculation only; but I cannot think so, no more than I could think that any political question, any constitutional injury, a total instead of a partial loss of liberty, was an evil in speculation only: a measure which changes the balance of the constitution to the side of power, and throws into the scale of the monarch the perpetual dead weight of the sword, is not a speculative evil, to any mind except to those to whom the blessing of a free constitution is a visionary good. But in political as in moral depravity, the slave, like the sinner, will not see his crime until he feels his punishment, and smarts under the lash either of the tyrant or the law. In this constitution every diminution of the power of the people is an actual evil; every increase of the power of the Crown is an actual evil. An injury in speculation is a measure neutral in itself, but dangerous in its tendency. The perpetual and unbounded grant of the power of the sword is not the evil tendency, but the actual evil;— that from this evil more will ensue, and that a military government will be used to establish an absolute one, is, I do acknowledge, a speculation, but by no means absurd, because the thing did happen. James II. in the last century did endeavour to make himself absolute, by assuming of his own authority that very power which we have now given the Sovereign a perpetual law to exercise: he kept together by martial law an army of 30,000, paid by his civil list: an English army, however ready they may be found to enforce the supremacy, were at that time reluctant to destroy the liberty of the British nation. To guard against a similar attempt, the declaration of right sets forth, that standing armies and martial law, in peace, without the consent of Parliament, are illegal;— meaning the consent of Parliament from time to time, of the then existing Parliament, who seeing the use which His Majesty makes of his army, may give their consent or withhold it. We are blessed if not benefited by experience.

I know very well, that in political questions, arguments unanswerable, founded in the obvious nature of the question, when by a certain set of politicians, they are not treated as factious, will be derided as visionary: for men long lost in the service of a court, do not choose to consider the consequence or the spring of their own action; their conscience informs their capacity that sufficient for the day is the crime and corruption thereof. Such men, for a very vicious conduct, have an apparent retreat in a very bad understanding: but it has been by a different way of thinking, that liberty still exists in England, when in almost every other quarter of the globe she has perished, and that the British constitution survives in a world of slavery—owing I suppose to a perpetual vigilance, an English instinct, an unremitting jealousy, an apprehensive people, wherever a stab was given certain to gather about the wound, active on the frontier of privilege, and banking out oppression as the Hollander banks out the sea. Such formerly was the conduct of England, such ought to be now the conduct of Ireland; for of all nations she has most reason to be apprehensive about her liberty, because it is but this moment rescued; it is but just recovered from the supremacy of the British Parliament, and it was within a cast of being surrendered by the compliance of our own: a proposal was made not many years ago, to grant a money bill for an immense period, and rejected by the accident of one majority: the danger to Irish liberty therefore is not visionary: no, her escape is miraculous!

I have heard it said that the mutiny bill is safe, because the king will not make a direct attack upon the rights of his people; but there are other ways of invading liberty besides open and direct hostility; great powers given to the Crown, such as we have given, a perpetual and encreasing revenue, with a law to collect it of eventual perpetuity, accompanied with the perpetual and unbounded power of the sword, may in a course of time make the chief magistrate so very strong, that the subject will be afraid to oppose him: in such a posture of strength and weakness a nation capitulates without a blow, all her strong posts are taken, revenue, army, purse, and sword. The question does not come to a trial; they who would not make a constitutional resistance to the first encroachment, will not be called upon to make a treacherous stand against the last act of power: their country will never know how little such men are to be depended upon: the king in such a case need not resort to arms; his solid strength operates without being put forth, and is an occult cause influencing and depressing the motions and spirit of parliament and people. The subject feels at a distance an accumulated weight of power coming against him, and by instinct retires.

What else was it which, until 1779, made the people of Ireland, with all the privileges of the British nation, afraid to resort to the benefit of their own laws? What but an evident superior strength arrayed against them? What else was it which, in 1779, made the Parliament and people struggle for their birthright? What, but that occult cause, a conscious strength, an inward security, an armed people? This surprising change never came to a contest; the nation recovered her liberty with as much tranquillity as she had lost it. The volunteers never attempted force; no, but they stood by, giving a silent confidence to liberty, as an independent army if these volunteers disperse, will give a silent confidence to power.

Nor is liberty only endangered by the sudden irruption and silent growth of power, but by the fears and resentment of corruption,—when the venal man trembles for his safety and is inflamed at his own infamy, and hating and hateful to his country, disables her resentment by destroying her liberty; slavery, like death, approaches in many shapes, and should be guarded against in all.

A measure unconstitutional and corrupt may be adopted by Parliament, at a time when the expectation, pulse, and spirit of the nation are high. Inflamed at such a conduct, the people may fall into a violent method of expressing a just indignation, and may disclaim that majority which assented to a measure conceived to be destructive. This majority, or many of them, lost in public estimation, conscious of public detestation, supported by public money, afraid of responsibility, careless of liberty, shocked at popular enormities, and full of an aristocratic impatience of the growth and consequence of the people, may apply to the Crown for protection and revenge. And thus a venal set of men, prostituted for hire, and furious for punishment, who at first only meant a corrupt vote, having once kindled the people, fortify themselves by an accumulation of crimes, and having given the king an unconstitutional power for money, give him absolute power for protection; the political degrees are natural and rapid,— from perished principle to execrated character, and so on to the last act of despotism and despair, the headlong tribe precipitate, and avenge the reputation they have lost upon the liberties they have left.

This may be the case; for something like the seeds of this has been the case. The sugar and mutiny bills had received the fullest consideration ever given to any public question; and after the nation had obtained in each, a victory over her administration, they were transmitted to England with a zeal approaching to transport. They were returned, both altered; one alteration made a dangerous change in the constitution; the other was an indirect detraction from the free trade, and a direct infraction of the privilege of the Commons; both were attended with a public affront, and both were adopted by Parliament; that very Parliament whose privileges these alterations invaded, whose powers they diminished, whose sense they superseded, and whose pretensions they insulted. The nation had been tempered too high to bear this with silent submission; that Parliament which now sunk itself, had before raised the spirit of the people. There is in this country an intelligent public: men who do not understand constitution like a crown lawyer, nor equalization duties like a custom-house clerk, can yet discern the honest sense of every great question, and have a lively and uncorrupted feeling of a national insult. The truth was, that every man in this kingdom understood the motives, and felt the final conduct of Parliament; the whole nation felt it; she felt it as a mortification to her pride, a blast to her expectations, a blow affecting her from metropolis to the last and remotest line of her associations, electrifying her radically and universally from centre to circumference.

Some of the volunteer corps express this general disgust by the warmest resolutions; they discover the generous indignation of independent citizens, and express that indignation in the unguarded language of soldiers. They who never deserted Parliament until she deserted herself, charge the majority with having upon these questions betrayed their country. It was a great charge; let me add, it was a great crime. Alarmed at these proceedings, the administration, who, by influencing, had separated and detached Parliament from the volunteers, summon their friends to a private meeting, assembled to maintain the dignity of the legislature by the dependants of the castle. At this contemptible gathering it was agreed to take notice of the above resolutions, in both Houses. That Parliament who had been corrupted to perpetuate the army of the King, are now instigated to punish the army of the people.* A motion is made to address His Excellency to order a prosecution. That House of Commons, whose dignity was never entirely lost until the administration were petitioned to defend it, who had been, until the court cashiered it, the head of the nation's army; that House of Commons who had brought to the residence of the Lord Lieutenant, the volunteers as their guard, and astonished him in his own castle, now becomes an humble petitioner to that very Viceroy, to punish those very volunteer corps, who were by the inconsistency of Parliament, in the course of one session, the subject of its thanks, the partners of its triumph, and the object of its prosecution !

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* Probably this motion was not then seen in all its consequences; certainly not by the person who seconded it, — a young nobleman of great spirit, integrity, and sense.

Fortunately for the kingdom, but most ignominiously for Parliament, the ministry who prompted their address did not pay it the smallest attention. This unnatural contest has ceased ; privilege is authority, and authority is character. The privilege of the Commons is the privilege of the people, in the persons of their representatives and servants ; not a shield against the nation's sentiments, nor a scourge to punish her discussion. The Commons, therefore, did not rely on the breach of privilege, but addressed His Excellency to prosecute ; and His Excellency stopped because he could not proceed. An army is too numerous for a prosecution, and the country too free for a proscription. Moreover, it must be a great object to the minister who carried such a measure as the mutiny bill, to establish a mutual amnesty ; information forgotten on the part of the court, constitution on the part of the people. But, though the volunteers cannot be prosecuted, yet, if they were not more numerous and more united than court agitators could wish, I do believe they would be dispersed, and that the merchants, and the other high-spirited, obnoxious corps, would never have been suffered to associate again at a review, by a government, armed, as our's now is, with a perpetual power of the sword, and prompted by the address of both Houses of Parliament ; so little do men, who make an encroachment on public liberty, know to what length they will proceed, when hurried on in a contest, and obliged to defend the dignity of doing wrong by the guilt of doing worse.

I have stated the principal arguments in palliation of the mutiny bill, and their answers.

If any thing could aggravate such a measure, it is the consideration that the motive was as profligate as the law was mischievous ; and that this bill has been accompanied, as it was produced, by a most profuse application of honours, and a faithless application of money. We have seen its conscientious supporters paid for their vote, either in their own person or in that of their friends, or publickly balked when they expected to be bribed. The House of Commons was actually canvassed, and men, desperate from corruption, were solicited once more into their original state of mendicant importunity. Places, pensions, promises, ready money, the whole mystery of ecclesiastical patronage, all, like the faith of the Lord Lieutenant, were prostituted on this occasion. That this trade should have taken place under Lord Buckingham's administration, I did not expect; for, I remember, when his secretary made the following engagement, after Christmas, in 1778, when a motion was made to resolve to address His Excellency, to know whether he had any powers, and how far they extended, to diminish the pension list, the secretary rose and made the following specific declaration: — "That no new place nor additional salary was to be created, and that no new pension was to be added, except in the instance of one of the royal family, or a judge desirous to retire; and further, that the list as pensions dropt was not to be supplied."

In consequence of this solemn official engagement, the motion was withdrawn. The departure from this engagement, the creation of additional salaries and pensions, must embarrass the advocate for the inviolable purity of Lord Buckingham's administration; and I do believe nothing could have induced his Lordship to forget his word, if orders had not come from the British cabinet, at any expense, to carry the perpetual mutiny bill, and to break and corrupt the spirit of Ireland, as the best means whereby His Excellency could obtain forgiveness for the benefits which the Irish nation had obtained for herself. But, though these orders were positive, I cannot see any excuse for obeying them. We live in a land of liberty. His Majesty cannot, in this kingdom, order a subject to violate a public promise; the meanest peasant can defend his faith against the commands of his sovereign. The King could not disgrace Lord Buckingham, if, previously, he had not disgraced himself.

As Lord Buckingham stood bound to Ireland, an order to increase a salary or add a pension, was an attack upon his personal integrity, amounting to an insolent revocation of his commission. Had His Excellency, instead of pressing, by all the power of faithless engagement, the perpetual mutiny bill, pleaded his honour, he would have made a respectable retreat, and would have stood on the ground of our character and his own; but, unfortunately for both, for his credit and our constitution, he carried the perpetual mutiny bill, and taught the British minister to despise the Irish Parliament, and to reprobate that chief governor, who had so long and ineffectually dallied with its virtue. Instead of being thanked for the victory obtained, he became responsible for the mischief he had omitted. All our virtues were stated against him; and at the same time that he exposed himself to the charge of past imbecillity, he has exposed us and our societies to a future plan of vigorous operation. But though the concluding part of his administration is exceptionable, the period for which he suffers in the cabinet is to be admired, not censured. He saw this kingdom threatened by a foreign enemy, and felt the incapacity of the state to defend her; he therefore distributed arms among the people to secure the Irish nation to the British crown. He found the treasury empty, and the people begging; he did not inflame hunger to frenzy, by attempting to apply an exhausted exchequer to prevent the trade of a famished people; he did not conceive the loyal armaments of the Irish nation, rebellious associations; he was not a spy on our armed societies; he did not despise moderation; he was carried away in the tide of the times along the stream of your prosperity. His government seemed to partake of the triumphs of the people, and the non-resistance of the state secured its tranquillity; his virtue ceased where his action began. His character was formed upon his defeats, and undone by his victories. Pure in his own person; with respect to his connexions, pure and inexorable; with respect to Ireland, in the earlier part of his administration, innoxious, and to the British cabinet odious; he sought, by concluding corruptly, a return to the bosom of the court, and found the Viceroy was unpardonable in the acquisitions of the people.

I lament his ill treatment, because it proceeds from an alienation to the country that flourished under him. He has lost the countenance of the British Court on account of your address for trade, your short money bill, and above all, the growth of the armed societies, and the thanks of both Houses of Parliament.

His departure, accordingly, is marked with circumstances of public tenderness. The nation softens; there is a generosity in a free people which far exceeds the measure of scrupulous justice. To be injured under the supposition of being a public benefactor, is a claim to their protection. Distinct from any positive merit, Lord Buckingham excites a passion in his favour approaching to love; we feel our cause combined with his fortunes; the shield of the nation rises up to encompass and protect him, and we follow him with sympathy to the verge of the island.

A new administration succeeds, which the expense of government and the growth of debt have put for the present in the power of Parliament. Hereafter it may be otherwise, when, from commerce and peace, the revenues shall increase: and, as a profuse establishment puts an administration in the power of Parliament, so an approaching election puts Parliament in the power of the people. The resources of the constitution, even as we have mangled it, are many, — adequate to the redress of all grievances by measures lenient and legal. You are the great creative radical part of the constitution; the source of the nation's vigour, and the seat of her soul: King, Lords, and Commons stand upon your base: you form, and may reform, Parliament. A list of measures, a general qualification, an elective creed to be tendered to every candidate, would extort national conditions from corruption itself. But, unless the nation shall be previously concerted and covenanted, she will be surprised by a dissolution, and a general election will be a radical defeat.

Let the power of binding Ireland by the British Parliament be utterly and for ever abolished and abjured, that there may be no seed of jealousy between the two nations, on whose heart-felt coalition their mutual happiness depends, that officious men may not traduce one country to the other, and that a future minister may not proceed, as in the instance of America, on the reserved principle of supremacy, and, unable to govern either country, embroil both. Let the power of the crown to alter, and of the Irish council to alter and suppress our bills, a power useless to His Majesty, opprobrious to his subjects, and founded on misconstruction of law, be relinquished; let the mutiny bill be here, as in England, dependent on Parliament, — let the judges be here, as in England, independent of the Crown, — that the mouth of the law may not be the will of power, nor the sword her instrument.

These are the principal constitutional amendments. But should the British minister trample down America, and become haughty to Ireland; if instead of new, necessary, and humble acquisition, a blow is meditated, let me conjure you, in order to keep what you have gotten already, to preserve your armed associations. I will conclude by appealing to them.

The Irish constitution, commerce, and pride, with you began, and with you they would vanish. Until Britain is reconciled to our participation of trade, — while the British Parliament claims a right to take that trade away and make law for Ireland, — you are the great charter of the Irish nation, our efficient cause, and final hope. Prompted by you, we have conceived a vast image of our own greatness, — prompted by you, we have spoken definitively to Great Britain, and, astonishing her pride and awakening her justice, have stated in one sentence the provocation of a century. Obnoxious for that virtue, you are to confirm your advocates, the objects of hatred and estimation, and to preserve your associations, the dreaded instrument of national deliverance.

Believe me, you have many enemies: you are to guard against false friends and natural foes; against the weakness of human nature and the depravity of man; against sloth; against security; against administration; against a militia. What! are we to go back to the days of confusion and power; — when the kingdom was lawless, and the trooper was the magistrate, and no act was executed but acts of the British Parliament! I have heard your legality disputed. Conscious as I am that no law prohibits the subject to arm, convinced as I am of your legality, I conceive that question to be lost in the immensity of your numbers. And with the pomp, and power, and trade, and all that train which await your progress, I shall not stop your army to ask, What law has made you? Sufficient that there is no law against you; sufficient that without you there would be neither law nor liberty. Go on and prosper, thou sword of justice and shield of freedom! the living source of an ancient flame, — the foundation of our pride, a providential interposition, — an army enriching the land with industry, costing the state nothing, adequate to all her enemies, and greater than all her revenues could pay, — awful indeed to the tyrant, but to a just prince unconquerable strength. The custody of the nation's character is in your hands. Go on, and multiply, and add immortal security to the Cause of your Country!

LETTER TO THE CITIZENS OF DUBLIN.

TO MY FELLOW CITIZENS OF DUBLIN.

I THANK you for past favours; I have found in you a kind and a gracious master; you have found in me an unprofitable servant: under that impression, I beg to assure you, that so long as the present state of representation in the Commons House continues, so long must I respectfully decline the honour of soliciting, at your hands, a seat in that assembly.

On this principle it was I withdrew from Parliament, together with those with whom I act; and I now exercise my privilege, and discharge my duty in communicating with my constituents, at the eve of a general election, some say an immediate dissolution, when I am to render back a trust, which, until parliament shall be reformed, I do not aspire to re-assume. The account of the most material parts of my conduct, together with the reason of my resolution, will be the subject of this letter.

When I speak of my conduct, I mean that adopted in common and in concert with the other gentlemen. We should have felt ourselves deficient in duty if we had not made one effort before the close of the parliament, for the restoration of domestic peace, by the only means by which it seemed attainable, conciliation; and if we had not submitted our opinions, however fallible, and our anxieties, however insignificant, on a subject which in its existence shook your state, and in its consequences must shake the empire. Our opinion was, that the origin of the evil, the source of the discontent, and the parent of the disturbance, was to be traced to an ill-starred and destructive endeavour, on the part of the minister of the crown, to give to the monarch a power which the constitution never intended: to render the king in parliament every thing, and the people nothing, and to work the people completely out of the House of Commons, and in their place to seat and establish the chief magistrate absolute and irresistible; it appeared to us that a ministry, guilty of such a crime, is as much a traitor to the constitution as the people would be to the king if they should advance in arms, and place their leader on the throne; more guilty of treason in equity and justice; because in them it would be only rebellion against their creature, the king: but in the other it would be rebellion against his creator, the people: it occurred to us, that in this country the offence would be still higher, because in this country, it would be the introduction not only of a despotic, but of a foreign yoke, and the revival of that great question, which, in 1782, agitated this country, and which, till your parliament shall be reformed, must agitate this country for ever. We thought no Irishman; we were sure no honest Irishman would ever be in heart with government, so long as the parliament of this country shall be influenced by the cabinet of England, and were convinced that the people would not be the more reconciled to a foreign yoke, because reimposed by the help of their own countrymen; as long as they think this to be the case, we were convinced they will hate the administration, and the administration will hate them; on this principle we recollected the parliament of this country pledged their lives and fortunes in 1782, though some seem to have thought better of it since, and are ready to pledge their lives and fortunes against this principle. We could not seriously believe, that the people of Ireland were ready to resist the legislative usurpation of the British parliament, in whose station the greatness of the tyrant would have qualified the condition of the slave; and that the same people were now ready to prostrate themselves to the legislative usurpation of another body, a British cabinet; a humiliated and a tame tyrant. We recollected to have heard, that the friends of ministry had lamented that England had not acceded to the American claim of exclusive legislature, and afterward attempted to re-establish British dominion, by influencing the American assembly. We saw the ministry pursue that very plan toward Ireland which they regretted they had not resorted to in the case of America. We need not repeat the particulars; but we saw the result to be on the mind of the people a deep rooted and established discontent and jealousy, and we conceived that whatever conspiracies existed in any extent or degree, proceeded from that original and parent conspiracy in the minister to subvert the parliamentary constitution by the influence of the crown. It appeared to us, that the discontent and disturbance so created, was greatly encreased by another cause, the treatment of his Majesties Catholic subjects.

It is the business of the minister to observe the changes in the national spirit, as much as the changes of foreign combinations; it was the misfortune of our ministry that they never attended to those changes; they did not perceive that the religious principle and temper, as well as the political, had undergone on the continent, in America, and in Ireland, a fundamental alteration; that the example of America had had prodigious effect on Europe; the example and doctrine of Europe had had no effect on America; they did not see that in consequence of that cause (there were other causes also) the Irish Catholic of 1792 did not bear the smallest resemblance to the Irish Catholic of 1692; that the influence of Pope, Priest, and Pretender, were at an end.—Other dangers, and other influences might have arisen; new objects and new passions; the mind of the people is never stationary; the mind of courts is often stagnant; but those new dangers were to be provided against in a manner very different from the provisions made against the old. Indeed, the continuation of the old system of safety approximated and secured the new danger; unfortunately our ministers did not think so; they thought, they said, that the Irish Catholic, notwithstanding the American Revolution, notwithstanding the French Revolution, religious as well as political, was still the bigot of the last century; that, with respect to him, the age had stood still; that he was not impressed with the new spirit of liberty, but still moped under the old spirit of bigotry, and ruminated on the triumph of the cross, the power of Catholic hierarchy, the riches of the Catholic clergy, and the splendor of the Catholic church. You will find the speeches of the Catholic opponents, particularly the ministerial declaimers, dream on in this manner; and you will find, from the publications of those speeches, and of the Catholics, that the latter had laid aside their prejudices, but that the ministers had not. And one of the causes why those ministers alleged that Catholic mind had not advanced was, that their own mind had stood still; the state was the bigot, and the people the philosopher. The progress of the human mind, in the course of the last twenty-five years, has been prodigious in Ireland. I remember when there scarcely appeared a publication in a newspaper of any degree of merit which was not traced to some person of note, on the part of government or the opposition; but now a multitude of very powerful publications appear from authors entirely unknown, of profound and spirited investigation. There was a time when all learning in Europe was confined to the clergy; it then advanced among the higher orders of the laity, and now it has gone among the people. And, when once the powers of intellect are possessed by the great body of the nation, it is madness to hope to impose on that nation civil or religious oppression, particularly in those whose understandings have been stationary, though their power and riches have been progressive. The politics of the castle, with the religious feuds of Ireland, had occupied and engrossed their mind; the eye of that mind, or their intellectual vision, had become, of course, subtle indeed, but extremely little; on the other hand, the politics of Europe and America had occupied the mind of the people; and, therefore, the mind of the people had become comprehensive; and when the former complained of the press, they complained of the superiority of the popular understanding. It appeared to us, that the best remedy was to raise the understanding of the great by enlarging the sphere of its actions, viz. reforming the Parliament.

But, to return. The ministry, however, thought proper to persist in hostility to the Catholic body, on a false supposition of its bigotry. The consequence of such an attempt was, that the great body of the Catholics, I mean that part the most popular and energetic, disappointed, suspected, reviled, and wearied, united with that other great body of the reformers, and formed a Catholic, Presbyterian, and Protestant league, for the freedom of the religion, and the free and full representation of the people. Out of this league a new political religion arose, superseding, in political matter, all influence of priest and parson, and burying for ever theological discord in the love of civil and political liberty. This is at present, in all political matters, the Irish religion. What is the Irish religion? Unanimity against despotism. Viewing the state of the country in this light, it appeared to us that the unconstitutional influence of the Crown, and the proscription of the Catholics, were the fundamental causes of our discontent and jealousy. With these there existed other discontents distinct from these causes, without these causes insignificant, but, with these causes, creating great agitation and disturbance.

Two remedies occurred, coercion and conciliation; we opposed the former, and we proposed the latter. I will trouble you with our reasons: We considered the system of coercion would, in the first instance, destroy the liberty of the people; and, in the second instance, would subvert the authority and powers of government. Here I beg to recur to what I have just observed, on the necessity for those who administer a country, to advert to the changes that take place in the temper and understanding of the people. Unfortunately the ministry provided, for the purpose of making the people quiet and contented, a system of laws and proclamations, which, had they been quiet before, would have rendered them distracted.

I need not repeat them; we all know them; we had the barren office of giving a fruitless opposition; we saw a spirit of reform had gone forth; it had conquered in America; it had conquered in France; both here and in England it existed, and was chiefly nourished and propagated by the abuses of our government. It appeared to us, that the best way of starving that spirit was, to remove its food; far otherwise the proposers of the plan of coercion; they thought it better to feed that spirit, and to cherish the abuses and increase them; they hoped to fortify their constitution against an epidemic distemper, by preserving uncured the old gouts and rheumatisms, and a host of other disorders. The power of limited monarchy was not to be preserved by constitutional power, which is its natural ally; but by despotic power, which is its natural death and dissolution. Instead of correcting the abuses of the State, they invented laws which were themselves an abuse, and proclamations which were an abuse also; and which greatly, though silently, propagated the new principle. There are two ways by which a new principle spreads; one is by arms, and by martyrdom the other. The Mahomedan religion was propagated by arms; it pleased Providence that the Christian religion should have been propagated by the latter. See whether the unfortunate choice of our ministers has not given to the new principle the benefit of both; they have fled before it abroad, and they have trampled on it at home, and given it the double recommendation of conquest and martyrdom. This consideration was one of my objections to persist in the war with France, on account of Brabant, and it is one of my objections to persist in a war with the Irish on account of venal boroughs. Had the government, instead of aggravating, restrained abuses, they would have put the State at the head of a spirit of reform, which they could no longer resist, and could only hope to moderate; — it was to such a policy, adopted by Queen Elizabeth, that the church of England owes principally what it retains of power and splendour, preserved by the government of the country, who took the lead in the Reformation; but our's fell into a different project; they armed cap-a-pee against a spirit which they could not confine by arms abroad, nor by executions at home; and, therefore, instead of being at the head of popular measures, they were at the tail of them; in the Catholic question, in the place bill, in the pension bill, in every bill of a popular tendency, they resisted at first, they yielded at last, reluctantly and imperfectly, and then opposed, condemned, and betrayed the principle of their own acquiescence; they agreed to a place bill, for instance, and then they multiplied places manifold. What is the bar bill, or the bill that creates thirty new places for the gentlemen of the law? They agreed to the first Catholic bill, and then proscribed the person of the Catholics, and oppose his freedom in corporations. They had before agreed to the establishment of the independency of the Irish Parliament, and then had created a multitude of officers to make that independency a name. It is reported to have been said by some of the ministers of England, that his Majesty's reign has been to Ireland a course of concession; and it was much a subject of wonder, that the people of Ireland should persist in their dissatisfaction. The answer to those ministers is obvious; the concessions were extorted from ministers by the perseverance of opposition, and they were rendered abortive by the treachery of ministers. The recognition of our parliamentary rights has been rendered abortive by unexampled exertions of bribery and corruption; the freedom of our trade by debt and war; and the elective privileges of our Catholics by a course of personal persecution, and corporate influence; and, on the whole, the benefit of constitutional laws, by the administration of an unconstitutional government. When the ministers talk of their concessions to Ireland, do they know the concessions of Ireland to them? do they know the debt of the war? Continue that rate of expence, and the English wars of the next century will have the same effect as the English prohibition of the last; they will annihilate the trade of Ireland.

But, to return to the administration. They relapsed into their violence when they recovered from their fears, and their system has been, therefore, occasionally violent and weak, never strong and uniform. It is an observation of Lord Bacon, that the fall of one of the Roman Emperors was due, not to his tyranny nor his relaxation, but to both; and that the fluctuating system is ever fatal. It is an observation of the same, that the way to resist the progress of a new sect is to correct the abuses of the old ones. Unhappily our ministers differed from Bacon; their system was faithful to no one principle, either of violence or concession. We objected, that it could not now resort to unqualified violence without incurring all the objections belonging to a policy of submission, coupled with a policy of violence, and that it could not hope to obtain the advantages appertaining to either. In pursuit of such a system, the ministry seemed to us to have lost, not only their discretion, but their temper; they seemed vexed with themselves for being angry; they seemed to become in a passion with themselves, because they had lost their temper with the people. In its struggle with popular rights, the State, like a furious wrestler, lost its breath as well as its dignity — as if an angry father should lose his temper with his child, in which case the old fool is the most incorrigible. In the mean time, the enemy seemed to understand our situation perfectly well, and relied on our expenses for dissolving our credit, and our intemperance for dissolving our authority; and, at the very time when we were precipitating on such measures at home, we were receiving the most melancholy communications from abroad; we saw the minister retreating from the enemy with as rapid a step as he advanced upon the people, going back, and back, and back, while the democratic principle in Europe was getting on and on, like a mist at the heels of the countryman, small at first and lowly, but soon ascending to the hills and overcasting the hemisphere. Like the government, we wished to provide against this storm; like the government, we wished to disarm the people. As the best the means of safety, we wished to disarm the people; but it was by the only method by which a free people can be disarmed; we wished to disarm the people of their grievances, and then their other arms, their less dangerous arms, the bayonet, and even the pike, would be retained for no other use but the use of the government. A naked man, oppressed by the State, is an armed post. A few decent bishops, sent to the Tower against law, produced the Revolution. Mr. Hamden, and the four other innocent persons arraigned by Charles I. for high treason, produced the civil war. That grey-coated man, or the green man, sent on board a tender, or detained in prison without trial, he, too, will have his political consequence. Sensible acts of violence have an epidemic force; they operate by sympathy; they possess the air, as it were, by certain tender influences, and spread the kindred passion through the whole of the community. No wonder the difficulties have increased on the government! Sad experiment! to blood the magistracy with the poor man's liberty, and employ the rich, like a pack of government blood-hounds, to hunt down the poor! Acts of violence like these put an end to all law as well as liberty, or the affectation and appearance of either. In the course of the session, we asked to what end all this? and accompanied our question by stating the enfeebled resources of the country. We had mentioned at the beginning, that the debt of the war had been about 5,000,000*l.*; we were told it was an error; I wish it had been so; but, on examination, that sum appeared somewhat about the debt of the war. And it will appear, if the present loans are filled, that the debt of the war will be near 8,000,000*l.* We submitted the effects of the war on the resources of the country, and here again it was said we were in error; I wish we had been so; but at what interest does the state borrow money? an interest which, between man and man, would be usury, and nearly double the former rate. We mentioned the state of the revenue to have declined; again were we contradicted: but what is the fact? what business is now done on the quay? We did not wish to reveal the *arcana imperii;* we stated nothing more than appeared from the terms proposed in the Gazette, from the returns of your custom-house, and the printed resolutions touching the state of your manufactures; and we stated those public facts, not to damp the public confidence in the defence of the country, but to abate a little of that frantic confidence manifested in a determination, at the hazard of her safety, to go on with a system of domestic coercion, till the minister should conquer the people; and of foreign war, till the same minister should achieve another conquest at the risk of general ruin; till he should, sword in hand, recover Brabant: that minister has found it a more pressing experiment to defend Cork than to take Flanders, as the Emperor has found it a safer experiment to abandon Flanders and Italy to save Vienna. We mentioned those our objections to such folly then, and I repeat them now; not to damp your zeal against a foreign enemy, but to confine the zeal of government to one enemy, and to deprecate a second enemy; our own people and a civil war added to a foreign one.

Such was the system of coercion. To oppose a remedy is easy; to propose one is difficult and anxious. It appeared to us, that we should fail in duty and in candour, if, when we resisted the project of government, we did not submit a plan of our own; and the only plan that appeared to us to promise peace or prosperity, was conciliation; we proposed accordingly, the emancipation of the Catholics, and a reform in the Commons House of Parliament. To the first it was objected, that such a measure was irreconcilable with the safety of the King, or the connexion with England. To the first objection we answered, that the capacities of three-fourths of the people should not be made a personal compliment to His Majesty, and that the pretence for taking away those capacities should not be the religion of His Majesty's allies, of his present subjects of Canada, of his late subjects of Corsica, of a considerable part of his fleet, and of a great part of his army; that the principles that placed his family on the throne were those of liberty; and that his Irish subjects, if not convicted of felony, were entitled to the benefit of those principles; and that the Catholics have, in justice and reason at least, as good a right to liberty as His Majesty has to the crown. We observed, that the only impediment to the Catholic claim, as the law now stands, was the oath requiring the abjuration of the worship of the Virgin Mary, and of the doctrine of the real presence; that, to make these points, at such a time as this, matter of alarm to the safety of the King, was to give an air of ridicule to the serious calamities in which those, his ministers, had involved him. That such opinions, now abstracted from foreign politics, it was beyond the right or the power of the state to settle or punish; that kings had no right to enter into the tabernacle of the human mind, and hang up there the images of their own orthodoxy; that the Catholics did not insist His Majesty should be of their religion, that His Majesty had no right to exact that the Catholics should be of his —that we knew of no royal rule either for religion or mathematics; and, indeed, the distance between divine and human nature being infinite, the proportion in that reference between the King and the subject is lost; and therefore, in matters of religion, they both are equally dark, and should be equally humble; and when courts or kings assume a dictation on that subject, they assume a familiarity with the Almighty, which is excess of blasphemy as well as of blindness. Our contemplation, the most profound, on divine nature, can only lead us to one great conclusion, our own immeasurable inanity; from whence we should learn, that we can never serve God but in serving his creature; and to think we serve God by a profusion of prayer, when we degrade and proscribe his creature and our fellow-creature, was to suppose Heaven, like the court of princes, a region of flattery, and that man can there procure a holy connivance at his inhumanity, on the personal application of luxurious and complimentary devotion.

Or, if the argument were to descend from religious to moral study, surely, surely ministers should have remembered that the Catholics had contributed greatly to the expenses of the war, and had bled profusely therein; that they themselves were much in debt to human nature, and should not lose that one opportunity of paying a very small part of it, merely by a restoration of loyal subjects to their own inheritance, their liberty. We suggested such a step as a measure of policy, as well as justice, with a view to the strength and power of his Majesty, who was most improperly made a bar to such a concession. We suggested that his situation, with regard to America, to Europe, to his allies and enemies, was critical; and that it was a mockery of that situation to suppose, that the worship of the Virgin Mary, or the doctrine of real presence, constituted any part of the royal difficulties; that there was no spectre to disturb the royal imagination, but an existing substance; a gigantic form walked the earth at this moment, who smote crowns with a hundred hands, and opened, for the seduction of their subjects, a hundred arms — democracy; and we implored ministers, against such an enemy, to ally and identify the King with all his people, without distinction of religion, and not to detach him from any part of them to make a miserable alliance with priestcraft, which was a falling cause, and a superannuated folly.

With regard to the danger offered to the connection with England, from the emancipation of the Catholics, we observed, that the argument was of a most dangerous and insulting nature, for it amounted to a declaration that the privileges of a vast portion of a nation should be sacrificed to another country; that it was not the old internal question, whether the privileges of one part of Ireland should be sacrificed to the ambition of the other, but whether a vast description of the people of Ireland should be sacrificed to England; we observed, that, in this part of the argument, we need not recur to justice, we might rely on policy; and we asked, was it the policy of England, for the purity of Irish faith, to make experiments on Irish allegiance? We did not wish to exaggerate, but were justified in making this supposition: suppose Ireland the seat of government, and that, for the better securing the safety of the King, here resident, and for the connection of Great Britain with Ireland, that the Irish should incapacitate all the Protestants of England? The same affection which England, on that supposition, would afford to the Irish, the same affection has she now a right to expect from Ireland. When England had conquered France, possessed America, guided the councils of Prussia, directed Holland, and intimidated Spain; when she was the great western oracle to which the nations of the earth repaired, from whence to draw eternal truths of policy and freedom; when her root extended from continent to continent, and the dew of the two hemispheres watered her branches; then, indeed, we allowed with less danger, but never with justice, she might have made sacrifices of the claims of the Irish. I do not mean, we did not mean, to press a sense of the change which has taken place in the power of England, further than to prevent further changes, more mortifying and decisive, and to impress on Great Britain this important conviction, that as Ireland is necessary to her, so is complete and perfect liberty necessary to Ireland, and that both islands must be drawn much closer to a free constitution, that they may be drawn closer to one another.

The second part of our plan of conciliation was the reform of Parliament. The object of the plan was, to restore the

House of Commons to the people. If the plan do not accomplish that, it is not the idea of the framers; but no plan could satisfy those persons who wished to retain the credit of reformers and the influence of boroughs; no plan could satisfy those who complained, when any vestige of borough influence was continued, that the Parliament was not reformed, and when the vestiges were swept away, that the constitution was demolished; no plan could satisfy those who desired that the boroughs should be destroyed and preserved, and were willing to let the people sit in the House of Commons, provided the aristocracy sat in their lap. It is in favour of the plan submitted, that, without any communication whatever with the other side of water, it bears a strong and close resemblance to the plan proposed in the Parliament of Great Britain, and, in that resemblance, carries with it a presumption that it has a foundation in common sense and common interest; the objections to it, founded on the presumed antiquity of the borough system, hardly ventured to make their appearance; examination into the subject had shown, that the greater part of the Irish boroughs were creations by the house of Stuart for the avowed purpose of modelling and subverting the Parliamentary constitution of Ireland; that these were understated when called abuses in the constitution, that they were gross and monstrous violations, recent and wicked innovations, and the fatal usurpations on the constitution by kings whose family lost the throne for crimes less deadly to freedom, and who in their star chamber tyranny, in their court of high commission, in their ship-money, or in their dispensing power, did not commit an act so diabolical in intention, so mortal in principle, or so radically subversive of the fundamental rights of the realm, as the fabrication of boroughs, which is the fabrication of a court Parliament, and the exclusion of a constitutional Commons, and which is a subversion, not of the fundamental laws, but of the constitutional lawgiver; you banish that family for the other acts, and you retain that act by which they have banished the Commons.

It was objected with more success that the constitution of boroughs, however in theory defective, has worked well in fact; but it appeared to us that this was an historic error: we stated in answer to that objection, that the birth of the borough inundation was the destruction of liberty and property; that James I., the king who made that inundation, by that means destroyed the titles of the Irish subjects to their lands, without the least ceremony; the robbery of his liberty was immediately followed by the robbery of his property; for, rely on it, the king that takes liberty will very soon take away property; he will rob the subject of his liberty by influence, and then he may plunder him of his property by statute. There were at that time, the historian adds, inferior grievances; what were they? — martial law, and extortion by the soldiers, in levying the King's duties; a criminal jurisdiction exercised by the castle chamber, and a judicial power by the council. These inferior and those superior grievances, amounted to no law at all. How could it happen, says the historian, that the King could do all this with so small an army, seize the properties of the subjects, and transport the inhabitant. I will presume to conjecture, the King had another instrument, more subtile and more pliable than the sword; and against the liberty of the subject more cold and deadly, a court instrument that murders freedom without the mark of blood; palls itself in the covering of the constitution, and in her own colours, and in her name plants the dagger, a borough Parliament. Under this borough system, the reign of James was bad, but the next was worse; the grievances which England complained of, under Charles I., were committed in Ireland also. Those measures I mean called the new councils; they had been aggravated here by an attempt to confiscate the province of Connaught. There is extant a correspondence on the subject of Ireland, between the King and his deputy, Lord Strafford, of a most criminal and disgusting nature. His Majesty begins by professing his general horrors of the constitution; he proceeds to acknowledge his particular injuries to the Irish; he owned that he had defrauded the Irish of their promised graces, and he expresses his fears that they have a right in justice to ask what it was his interest, as it appeared to be his determination, to refuse. His deputy — what does he do? — he exceeds his royal master in his zeal against the pretensions of Ireland. A judicious court sycophant will often flatter the court of St. James, by Irish sacrifice, whether it is the constitution, or the fair name of the country. He, the deputy, had, said the historian, two great objects; one was to fleece the people of Ireland, and the other was to cheat them; to get the money, and to elude the graces.* He succeeded — why? — because there was another, a third instrument, worse than himself, a borough Parliament; that borough Parliament met; it voted six subsidies, and redressed nothing. This is virtue and public spirit in comparison to what it did after. After committing these crimes, for which the deputy justly lost his head; after having seized part of the province of Connaught; after the inflicting martial law, monopolies, raising an army against law, and money to pay that army against law; after fining and confining against law, the borough Parliament vote that deputy an extraordinary supply, and, in the preamble of the act, they pass on that deputy an extraordinary panegyric, with such a thorough conviction of his iniquity and their own, that they after impeach that very minister for those very acts, and record a protestation against the record of their panegyric, to give way to the meanness of another borough Parliament, who, on the return of his family, cancels the record of the protestation to restore the force of the panegyric; massacre, confusion, civil war, religious fury, followed naturally, and of course. Here you see hatched and matured the egg that produced the massacre, and all that brood of mortal consequences.

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* These graces somewhat resembled the English Petition of Right; they imparted to the subject certain liberties and privileges. The Irish agreed to pay to the King a considerable sum of money for them; the Deputy got the money, and withheld the graces! — Note by Editor.

The principles of right were rooted out of the land by government, and they were amazed at anarchy; the barriers against inundation were removed by the government, and they were astonished at being overwhelmed by a popular torrent, the principles of robbery were planted by the deputy, and the government were surprised at the growth of popular pillage; had the country been left to a state of a barbarous nature, she could not have been so shattered and convulsed as when thus reduced to a state of barbarous art, where the government had vitiated that parliamentary constitution it professed to introduce, and had introduced, without professing it, influence, not civilization; had set one order of the nation in feud against the other; had tainted the gentry with the itch of venality, (there was bribery in those days as well as violence,) and had given them ideas of vice, but not of refinement. I pass over a hundred and thirty years, a horrid vacuum in your history of borough Parliaments, save only as it has been filled with four horrid images in the four-fold proscription of the religion, trade, of the judicative and legislative authority of the country, by the commercial restrictions of William, the penal laws of William and Anne, and the declaratory act of the 6th of George. And I come to the boundary of the gulph where the constitution begins to stir and live in an octennial bill, accompanied, however, with, and corrected by, a court project of new parliamentary influence and degradation. This project may be called a court plan for reforming borough Parliaments, but reforming them, not on the principle of popular representation, but of a more complete and perfect exclusion and banishment of the Commons; the people had begun to form certain combinations with the oligarchy, and, like weeds, began to grow a little about the doors and courts of their own Houses of Parliament, and, like weeds, it was thought proper to banish them; and as government had before resorted to the creation of boroughs to overwhelm the Commons, so now they resorted to a new host of places and pensions to overwhelm the oligarchy. This is the famous half million, or the experiment of the castle, to secure the dependence of Parliament, and to prevent the formation of an Irish party against the domination of a British cabinet. The court could not then, like the 1st James, and the 1st Charles, command to rise up a new fabric of boroughs, like a regal pandemonium, to constitute a regal House of Commons; it therefore engendered a young and numerous family of places and pensions, to bribe and to buy, and to split, and shatter, and to corrupt the oligarchy. Thus were the people once more excluded from the chance of influence in Parliament, and, as it were, shouldered from the threshold of their own house by a host of placemen and pensioners, who had left the cause of the country to follow the fortunes of the aristocracy, and now left the aristocracy to follow the fortunes of the court, and then voted new loans and new taxes to furnish wages for the double apostacy. You had now but little to give up, and that little you surrendered; you gave your provision trade, by an embargo of 1776, to the contractors, and you surrendered, by new loans and taxes, your revenues to the minister. You accompanied these sacrifices with the unvarying felicitations of borough Parliaments, on the virtues of government, on the great and growing prosperity of your country, and her commerce, which bring the poor progress of the country, your borough history, and that of your chief governor, (a *continuation of rapine*, they have been wittily called,) to the catastrophe of 1779, which found your state a bankrupt, and your community a beggar, and which induced Parliament to declare, that such had been the working of your borough system, and such the sense of that Parliament respecting it, that nothing but a free trade could save the country from impending ruin.

I wish to speak with all honour of the Parliament at that moment, but must recollect the circumstances of that moment. Why did Parliament express itself in that manner at that time, and demand its rights a short time after? Because Parliament was at those moments in contact with the people; and it is the object of the reform that she should continue in contact with the people always, and with the minister never, except the people should be in contact with him; that Parliament declared, that nothing could save this country from impending ruin, except a free trade; but, in declaring that, it declared much more; it protested against these borough Parliaments of a century, who had acquiesced in the loss of a free trade; who had suffered the country to be reduced to that state of impending ruin, for want of that free trade; and who had beheld the approaches of that ruin with a profusion of thanks, and a regular felicitation on the growing prosperity and flourishing commerce of a ruined country; and that Parliament did, by necessary inference, declare, to save the country from returning to that state of ruin, that it was absolutely necessary to reform the state and model of those borough Parliaments, and therefore is an authority for a popular representation, as well as for a free trade. Indeed, it not only proclaimed the necessity, but constituted it; for, in a short time after, it gave this country a new political situation, wherein she ceased to be a province, and became a nation; and, of course, it rendered those borough Parliaments that were adequate to the management of a province, absurd and inapplicable when that province became a nation. A province must be governed with a view to the interest of another country; a nation with a view to her own interest. A borough Parliament was, therefore, not only competent to govern a province, but the only kind of Parliament fit for the degradation of such a service, and for that very reason it was the most unfit and inadmissible instrument in the government of a nation; for the principle of its birth being, in that case, opposite to the principle of its duty; the principle of its birth being court intrigue, with touched and tainted contractors, and the principle of its duty being the defence of the nation against such intrigue and such contractors; the nature of Parliament being opposed to its duty, or its duty to its parent being in contradiction with its duty to its country, it follows that the nation, in such a case, must be reprovincialized, and the independency supposed to have been then obtained at that period would have been only a transfer of dependency from the Parliament of Great Britain to the Court of St. James's, in covin and in couple with the borough-brokers of Ireland; therefore the independency of your Parliament, and the full and free representation of your people, are terms synonimous and commensurate. In opposition to this history and these arguments, submitted, in different shapes, to the House, in support of parliamentary reform, it was replied, that the borough constitution had worked well, at least since 1782; for before no man will contend for it, and that the country had greatly advanced in commerce and in tillage; and, indeed, as far as the ploughman and the weaver are concerned, too much cannot be said to justify against every charge of sloth the character of the Irishman, and to vindicate against a vulgar error the native energy of a strong, hardy, bold, brave, laborious, warm-hearted, and faithful race of men. But, as far as that boast goes to political measures, we cannot so well express our detestation of them as by recital: the propositions; the new taxes without the trade; the new debt, notwithstanding the new taxes; the sale of the peerage; the surrender of the East India trade for the re-export trade; the refusal of the re-export trade, without such barter; the inequality of the channel trade, and the present provincial tariff suffered still to obtain between the two countries; the 8,000,000*l.* of loan voted on account of the war, without commercial compensation, liberality, or equality; the increase of offices, for the professed purposes of procuring a majority; another increase of offices since the place bill; the bar bill; the convention bill; the gunpowder bill; the indemnity bill; the second indemnity bill; the insurrection bill; the suspension of the Habeas Corpus; General Lake's proclamation by order of government; the approbation afforded to that proclamation; the subsequent proclamation of government, more military and decisive; the order to the military to act without waiting for the civil power; the imprisonment of the middle orders without law; the detaining them in prison without bringing them to trial; the transporting them without law, burning their houses, burning their villages, murdering them — crimes, many of which are public, and many committed which are concealed by the suppression of a free press, by military force; the preventing the legal meetings of counties to petition His Majesty, by orders acknowledged to be given to the military to disperse them — subverting the subject's right to petition; and, finally, the introduction of practices not only unknown to law, but unknown to civilized and Christian countries.

Such has been the working of the borough system: nor could such measures have taken place but for that system. Such practices, however, have in part been defended as acts of power, necessary to prevent insurrection, and punish conspiracy. But it appeared to us, that in these practices government was combating effects, not causes; and that those practices increase these causes, and, therefore, will increase those effects; that admitting every charge of conspiracy and disaffection in its fullest extent — that conspiracy and disaffection are only effects of that great fundamental cause, that parent conspiracy formed some years ago, to procure by corruption despotic power. That is the cause, and that cause acts according to the reception of its matter, and the tempers and constitutions to which it applies: and, therefore, produces on some men disloyalty, in some republicanism, in some the spirit of reform; but in all deep, great, and growing discontent. That is the cause and the poison which has made some men mad, and all men sick; and though the government may not be able to restore reason to the mad, or loyalty to the republican, yet if they mean to restore health to the sick, if they mean to restore content and confidence to all, to most or to any considerable portion of the people, they must take away the poison, they must remove the cause, they must reform the Parliament. They have told us at some times, and at other times they have said the contrary, that it is a spirit of plunder, not politics, that is abroad: idle talk — whatever be the crime of the present spirit, it is not the crime of theft — if so, it were easily put down; no, it is a political, not a predatory spirit; it is the spirit of political reformation, carried to different degrees; to liberty, in some instances; to ambition in others; and to power in others. And even in these cases, where charged to be carried to confiscation, it is evident from the charge itself that confiscation looks to political vengeance, not private plunder; and, therefore, the best way of laying that spirit, of whatever designs or intents, is to lay the pre-existing spirit of unlawful power and unconstitutional influence that has frighted the people from Parliament, and has called to our world that other potent and uncircumscribed apparition. The way to defend your property is to defend your liberty; and the best method to secure your house against a defender, is to secure the Commons House against a Minister. "There was ambition, there was sedition, there was violence, mixing in the public cause," said Lord Chatham to Mr. Flood, in a private conversation, as he told me, on the civil war between Charles I. and his people. "There was," said he, "ambition, — there was sedition, — there was violence, — but no man will persuade me that it was not the cause of liberty on one side, and tyranny on the other." So here there may be conspiracy, — there may be republicanism, — there may be a spirit of plunder mixing in the public cause; but it is a public cause, and let no man persuade you that it is not the cause of liberty on one side, and tyranny on the other. The historian of these melancholy and alarming times, censuring perhaps both the minister and the opposition, and censuring us more for our relaxation than violence, will, if a candid man, close the sad account by observing, "that, on the whole, the cause of the Irish distraction of 1797, was the conduct of the servants of Government endeavouring to establish, by unlimited bribery, absolute power; that the system of coercion was a necessary consequence, and part of the system of corruption; and that the two systems in their success would have established a ruthless and horrid tyranny, tremendous and intolerable, imposed on the senate by influence, and the people by arms." Against such excess of degradation, against any excess whatsoever, we moved the middle, and, as we thought, the composing and the salutary measure; a reform of Parliament, which should give a constitution to the people, and the Catholic emancipation, which should give a people to the constitution. We supported that measure by the argument herein advanced, and we defended ourselves by such against a deluge of abuse conveyed in the public prints against us on account of that measure; and I restate those arguments, that, however the majority of the House of Commons might have been effected, your understanding may not be carried away by such a torrent of invective. We urged those considerations; we might have added in our defence the dangers of invasion and insurrection, panics most likely to incline the minister to concur in such a measure, which measure seems to be our best, I might say, our only defence against those dangers and those panics; we might have added, considerations of the immense expence attendant on the working, as it is called, of this borough constitution; which expence may be called the prodigality of misrepresentation, or the huge and gigantic profusion which the people supply for turning themselves out of Parliament. It is well known that the price of boroughs is from 14 to 16,000*l.* and has in the course of not many years increased one-third; a proof at once of the extravagance and audacity of this abuse, which thus looks to immortality, and proceeds, unawed by the times, and uninstructed by example; and, in moments which are held alarming, entertains no fear, conceives no panic, and feels no remorse which prevents the chapman and dealer to go on at any risque with his villainous little barter, in the very rockings and frownings of the elements, and makes him tremble indeed at liberty, but not at crimes.

" Suspend the *habeas corpus* act, — take away the poor man, — send the reformer to Newgate, — imprison the north; but for the trade of Parliament, for the borough-broker of that trade, do not affect him; give him a gunpowder act, give him a convention bill, give him an insurrection bill, give him an indemnity bill, and, having saturated him with the liberty of his country, give him all the plunder of the state." Such is the practical language of that great noun of multitude, the borough-broker; demurring on the troubles of the times which he himself has principally caused, and lying at the door of a secretary full of sores and exactions. This sum I speak of, this 14 or 16,000*l.*, must ultimately be paid by you: it is this increase of the price of boroughs which has produced the increase of the expence of your establishments; and this increase of the expence of your establishment, which has produced this increase for the price of your boroughs; they operate alternately, like cause and effect, and have, within themselves, the double principle of rapid ruin: so that the people pay their members as formerly, but pay them more, and pay them for representing others, not themselves, and giving the public purse, full and open, to the minister, and rendering it back empty to the people. Oh! unthrifty people! whoever surrendered that invaluable right of paying your own representatives — rely on it, the people must be the prey if they are not the paymasters. To this public expence we are to add the monstrous and bankrupt waste of private property, becoming now so great, that honest men cannot, in any number, afford to come into parliament, as the expence amounts to a child's portion, as the child must be wronged, or the father sold or excluded. Thus, in the borough constitution, is private and public virtue set at variance, and men must renounce the service of their country or the interest of their family; from this evil, the loss of private fortune, a much greater loss is likely hereafter to take place, the loss of talent in the public service; for this great expence must, in the end, work out of Parliament all unstipendiary talent that acts for the people, and supply it by stipendiary talent that acts against them. What man of small fortune, what man of great fortune, can now afford to come into the House of Commons, or sustain the expence of a seat in Parliament, or of a contested election? and what open place, except in a very few instances, (the city is one of them), where the electors return without cost to their representatives? I know some who have great talents and have exercised them in the public service, are disposed to decline situations, to the honest individual so expensive, and to the public now so unprofitable. To this I am to add a greater evil than those already stated, the expenditure of morals. What shall we say for the morals of a country — how many years' purchase would you give for her virtue, whose ministry founded its authority on moral depravity, and formed a league and covenant with an oligarchy to transfer for hire, virtually and substantially, the powers of legislation to the Cabinet of another kingdom. We inveigh against other combinations, what sort of a combination is this? This, I know not by what name to approach it, shoots it virus into the heart and marrow of the higher orders of the country. Make your people honest, says the court; make your court honest, say the people. It is the higher classes that introduce corruption; thieving may be learned from poverty, but corruption is learned from riches. It is a venal court that makes a venal country; that vice descends from above; the peasant does not go to the castle for the bribe, but the castle candidate goes to the peasant; and the castle candidate offers the bribe to the peasant, because he expects in a much greater bribe to be repaid by the minister. Thus things go on ; it is impossible they can last; the trade of Parliament ruins every thing : your ministers rested their authority entirely on that trade, till now they call in the aid of military power to enforce corruption by the sword. The laws did, in my judgment, afford the crown sufficient power to administer the country, and preserve the connection with Great Britain, but our ministers have despised the ordinary tract, and plain, obvious, legitimate and vulgar bonds between the king and the subject: they have resorted to the guinea and the gallows, as to the only true and faithful friends of government, and try to hang where they cannot corrupt; they have extended the venal stipendiary principle to all constituted authorities; they have given the taint to the grave corporator as well as the senator, and have gone into the halls and street to communicate the evil to the middling and orderly part of the society; they have attempted the independency of the bar. I have great objections to the bar bill; and my objections are great in proportion to my regards for the profession, whose signal services to the cause of liberty must prove to every man's conviction how valuable the acquisition, and how inestimable the loss of that profound and acute profession must be to the cause of a country such as this was formerly, where the rule of government was the law of the land.

We have heard of complaints against systems of disorganization ; what is this system? Is not the corruption of organized bodies their dissolution? Is not their perversion worse than their dissolution ? What shall we say of the attempts of ministers on sheriffs, and the appointment of that magistrate with a view to parliamentary influence only ; and to the prevention of legal aggregate meetings, and the suppression of the public sentiment. These things must have an end ; this disorganization of constituted authorities by court influence must have an end. I am not superstitious, but I know that states, like individuals, are punished; it is to prevent their punishment we assayed their reformation ; they are punished collectively, and they are punished slowly, but they are punished : where the people are generally or universally corrupt, the society comes to a state of dissolution ; where that corruption is confined to those who administer the country, that power must come to a state of dissolution ; but in order to prevent the society from partaking of that corruption and consequence of that corrupt dissolution, it is necessary that the power that administers the country should be brought speedily and radically to a state of reformation ; the best systems are not immortal ; are the worst? Is the trade of Parliament immortal ; have the best systems perished? and shall this be impassable and everlasting, infinite in its duration, as it is unbounded in its profligacy. What was the case of Carthage, of Rome, and of the court of France? What is the case of the court of England? Sitting under the stroke of justice for the American war; paying pains and penalties in augmented burdens and diminished glory; that influence which has depressed her liberty has destroyed her energy, and rendered her as unfit to preserve her empire as her freedom. As long as the battle was between the Court and the constitution, the former was perfectly equal to subdue her own people; but when she was to combat another people, she was unequal to the task, and for the very reason, because she had seduced and debased her own. The corruption of the Court has rendered England vincible, and has endued her, in her present state of national degradation, with an insensibility of glory—the result and evidence of mental degeneracy. I remember to have heard Lord Chatham, in one of his speeches on the Middlesex election, observe, that in his ministry the object of the court of England was the conquest of the French, and that now it was the conquest of Mr. Wilkes. The pursuing such like conquests as those over Mr. Wilkes, has enabled the French to establish a conquest over the English. The King, who is advised to conquer the liberty of his subjects, prepares those subjects for a foreign yoke. The Romans were conquered at Cannæ, first by Varro, and afterwards by Hannibal. The English have been conquered, first by the minister, and afterwards by the French. Those Romans were finally conquered by the barbarians of the north, because they had been previously conquered by the princes of the empire; and then the half-armed savage, with the pike and the pole, came down on the frontiers, and disposed of the masters of the world as of the stock of the land ; the gouty stock of the rich, and the mute stock of the people.

It is now sixty years since the adoption of the project to supply in corruption what the chief magistrate lost in prerogative, the loss of thirteen provinces, of 120,000,000*l.* to lose these provinces, the loss of our station in Europe, the loss of 130 millions, to lose that station, to place the crown of England as low in Europe as in America, and to put France at the head of Europe, instead of Great Britain, while her people crouch under a load of debt and taxes, without an empire to console, or a constitution to cover them, has been the working of that project; it has worked so well, as to have worked the people out of their liberty, and His Majesty out of his empire; to leave him as little authority in Europe as his people in Parliament; and to put the King at the feet of France, as the people are put at the feet of the King; public credit has also fallen a victim to this, its success, its last great conquest after liberty and empire. In this rapid decline, no one minister has been punished, or even questioned; and an empire and a constitution have been lost without one penal example; and, in a war unparalleled in expence and disgrace, and attended with the grossest and rankest errors, closing the account of blood with proclamations of insolvency; no murmur from the Parliament of either countries, — no murmur! Far from inquiry or complaint, confidence has uniformly attended defeat and dishonour. The minister's majorities are become as numerous as his disgraces; and so gigantic have been his encroachments on the independency of the constitution, that they can only be matched by the gigantic encroachment of the enemy on the empire. In short, so perfectly do the people appear to be driven out of all footing in the constitution, that when his Majesty is driven out of almost all footing in Europe, and a question is made by the people, whether the ministers of these disgraces and dishonours shall be dismissed? they have their majority at hand to support them.

Against this inundation of evil we interposed reform; we were convinced of its necessity from the consideration of corruption at home; we were confirmed in that conviction from the consideration of revolutions abroad. We saw the regal power of France destroyed by debts, by expence, and by abuses; we saw the nobility interpose for those abuses only, to encumber the throne with their ruins, and to add revolution of property to revolution of government; we saw, in the American revolution, that a people determined to be free cannot be enslaved; that British government was not equal to the task, even in plenitude of empire, supported by the different governments of the provinces, and by the sad apostacy of the hapless loyalist; that loyalist is a lesson to the rich and great to stand by their country in all situations; and that, in a contest with a remote court, the first post of safety is to stand by the country, and the second post of safety is to stand by the country, and the third post of safety is to stand by the country; in that American contest we saw, that reform, which had been born in England and banished to America, advanced like the Shepherd Lad in Holy Writ, and overthrew Goliah. He returned riding on the wave of the Atlantic, and his spirit moved on the waters of Europe. The royal ship of France went down; the British man of war labours; your vessel is affected; throw your people overboard, say your ministers, and ballast with your abuses; throw your abuses overboard, we said, and ballast with your people. We recollected these islands were formerly placed in a sea of despotism; we saw they were now two kingdoms in a republican ocean, situated between two great revolutions, with a certainty of being influenced, more or less, by one or by both. We asked ourselves, was it possible that the American revolution could have had such effects on France, and that the American and the French revolutions would have no effect on these countries? The questions that affect the world are decided on the theatre of the world. The great question of popular liberty was fought on the great rivers of Europe and America; it remained to moderate what we could not govern — and what method so safe to moderate popular power as by limited monarchy? and what method remains to limit the monarchy of these kingdoms (it has now no limit) as by reforming Parliament? What method, I say, to prevent a revolution but a reformation? and what is that reformation of Parliament but the restoration to the people of self-legislation, without which there is no liberty, as without reform no self-legislation? So we reasoned.

The government of a country may be placed in the hands of one man, and that one man may reside in another kingdom, and yet the people may be free and satisfied; but to have the legislature of the country, or, what is the same thing, the influencing and directing spirit of the legislature placed out of the country; to have not only the King, but the legislature, an absentee; to have not only the head but the heart disposed of in another country. Such a condition may be a disguised, but it is unqualified and perfect despotism. Self-legislation is life, and has been fought for as for being. It was that principle that called forth resistance to the house of Stuart, and baptized with royalty the house of Hanover, when the people stood sponsors for their allegiance to the liberty of the subjects; for kings are but satellites, and your freedom is the luminary that has called them to the skies. It was with a view, therefore, to restore liberty, and with a view also to secure and immortalize royalty, by restoring to the people self-legislation, we proposed reform. A principle of attraction about which the king and people would spin on quietly and insensibly in regular movements, and in a system common to them both. "No, no, no, the half million," said the minister, "that is my principle of attraction. Among the rich I send my half million, and I dispatch my coercion among the people." His devil went forth; he destroyed liberty and property; he consumed the press; he burned houses and villages; he murdered and he failed. "Recall your murderer," we said, "and in his place dispatch our messenger; try conciliation. You have declared you wish the people should rebel, to which we answer, God forbid! Rather let them weary the royal ear with petitions; and let the dove be again sent to the King; it may bring back the olive. And as to you, thou mad minister! who pour in regiment after regiment to dragoon the Irish, because you have forfeited their affections, we beseech, we supplicate, we admonish, reconcile the people; combat revolution by reform; let blood be your last experiment." Combat the spirit of democracy by the spirit of liberty; the wild spirit of democratic liberty by the regulated spirit of organized liberty, such as may be found in a limited monarchy, with a free Parliament; but how accomplish that but by reforming the present Parliament, whose narrow and contracted formation in both countries excludes popular representation, *i. e.* excludes self-legislation, *i. e.* excludes liberty; and whose fatal compliances, the result of that defective representation, have caused, or countenanced, or sanctioned, or suffered for a course of years, a succession of measures which have collected upon us such an accumulation of calamity; and which have finally, at an immense expence, and through a sea of blood, stranded these kingdoms on a solitary shore, naked of empire, naked of liberty, and naked of innocence, to ponder on an abyss which has swallowed up one part of their fortunes, and yawns for the remainder?

May the kingly power that forms one estate in our constitution, continue for ever; but let it be as it professes to be, and as by the principles and laws of these countries, it should be, one estate only; and not a power constituting one estate, creating another, and influencing a third.

May the parliamentary constitution prosper; but let it be an operative, independent, and integral part of the constitution, advising, confining, and sometimes directing, the kingly power.

May the House of Commons flourish; but let the people be the sole author of it existence, as they should be the great object of its care.

May the connexion with Great Britain continue; but let the result of that connexion be, the perfect freedom, in the fairest and fullest sense, of all description of men, without distinction of religion.

To this purpose we spoke; and speaking this to no purpose, withdrew. It now remains to add this supplication: — However it may please the Almighty to dispose of princes or of parliaments, MAY THE LIBERTIES OF THE PEOPLE BE IMMORTAL."

HENRY GRATTAN.

DECLARATION AND PETITION,

TO BE PRESENTED TO HIS MAJESTY,

CONTAINING THE PRINCIPAL GROUNDS OF THE APPLICATIONS MADE BY DIVERS OF HIS IRISH SUBJECTS FOR REDRESS;

AND ALSO,

A VINDICATION OF HIS PEOPLE AGAINST THE TRADUCTION OF HIS MINISTERS.

May it please His Majesty, to take into his gracious consideration the following Declaration and Petition, containing, as is humbly conceived, the principal grounds of the applications lately made by divers of his Irish subjects for redress, and also a vindication of his people against the traductions of his ministers, together with an humble suggestion of remedy, such as seemeth best, against the evils of slavery or separation.

His Majesty's ministers have affected to give a history of his people; we beg to lay before his Majesty a history of them; they began very far back; we will begin farther. We will begin in 1768, at the time when the then ministry formed a new system for Ireland, and, under colour of destroying aristocratic power, did attack and destroy for a time, by unlimited bribery and corruption, whatever parliamentary power or provincial check had existed in this island, as has been since acknowledged by one of his Majesty's ministers, and can now not even be doubted. Some time after that they laid an embargo on the provision trade of this country, without the consent of Parliament, for the sake of certain British contractors in the American war, and with which they continued to afflict this country for years, contrary to law, and destructive to commerce.

About the same time they forced the Irish Parliament to pass an address in favour of the American war, and then to lend, from her own defence, a portion of her army, to fight against the liberty of America; that is, to sacrifice her defence, in order to destroy her liberty.

About the same time they introduced a clause in his Majesty's speech from the throne, declaring, on the subject of

American taxation, that the power of the British Parliament extended over *all* his Majesty's dominions; to this speculative despotism they added practical tyranny, and procured a British act of Parliament, imposing a tea-tax on Ireland, which passed in the year 1779, and which they transmitted to this country, that the tax under that act should be collected.

Some time after that they afflicted this country with a perpetual mutiny-bill, or a military despotism, wherein our army was rendered, for its government, independent of the Parliament of Ireland.

Some time after that they tendered to this country certain propositions, wherein were contained a tribute, to be annually paid by Ireland to Great Britain; also a perpetual revenue-bill, to collect that tribute; and, under pretence of making laws by reference, a substantial transfer of the regulation of our trade to the Parliament of Great Britain. These propositions, so degrading, so dishonourable, one of his Majesty's ministers has been lately desperate enough to display, as an instance of their affection.

Some time after that, in 1789, they thought proper to revoke, substantially and effectually, whatever had been gained in constitution; and, in order to break down an opposition in Parliament, did, notoriously and avowedly, buy and bribe the members thereof, so effectually, as to destroy whatever check or restraint the parliament of this country might administer to the power of the crown; or whatever benefit or protection the people of Ireland might expect from the independency of their legislature. On the same plan of unconstitutional and scandalous influence, did they sell the peerage, to procure seats in the Commons for the dependants of the Castle, to the dependency and the dishonour of both houses of Parliament; and having, from this conduct, (aggravated, by a most unseemly and unbecoming intemperance of manner, and incontinence of language,) lost the confidence of the country, and greatly agitated the same; they then proceeded to a system of coercion, to support their plans of corruption, and to dragoon the people as they had bought the Parliament.

They began that system by an act, which tended, in a qualified manner, to disarm his Majesty's subjects, under certain regulations, named a gunpowder-bill, and had principally in view to put down the Irish volunteers; and to check the discontent which grew from this measure, as well from their other measures, further measures of violence, and new causes of discontent were resorted to. A convention-bill, professing to declare the law which it altered and framed, to disguise the innovation which it made, was propounded, with a view to prevent the existence of expression in the people, as the *half million* had been applied to prevent the existence of that expression in the Parliament; so that, by operation of money and law, the power of popular utterance should have no existence whatsoever. The object of the bill was, the suppression of the public voice; and the effect of the bill was, the creation of private conspiracy. Public volition, we submit to his Majesty, must exist; and his minister, who stops the national organ, causes the explosion, and makes the subject a conspirator against his government, because that minister's government is a conspirator against the subject.

Had not that convention-bill passed, we are told there would have been a convention at Athlone; we are told so without the least authority whatsoever; but happy had it been for this country and government if such a convention had taken place; for then there would have been, probably, a reform and a peace, and his Majesty's Irish ministers would have been removed, and his government would have been secure. But there was no reform, and there was, instead of a convention, a convention-bill; and, in order to overpower the host of discontents, the offspring of this bill added to the other measures. In order to punish additional discontents, (the effect of Lord Fitzwilliam's removal, and the public disappointment that followed;) in order to support the Irish ministry that succeeded and returned with their old maxims of government, they thought proper to proceed against the people without any form or process whatsoever; and laying aside the incumbrance of statute, and the delay of law, they suffered their general, and other magistrates, to form themselves into a species of revolutionary tribunal, where these men sat without law, tried without law, sentenced without law, and punished without law; not a few individuals, but hordes, tribes, and generations of country people, sent a-board a tender often on this principle, that if tried before a court of law, they would probably be acquitted. His Majesty has heard of the effect of this policy in the mutiny of his fleet. It has been said, that the law was open; we submit to his Majesty, that it was far otherwise, for a bill of indemnity was passed, nearly in the style and manner of acclamation, without inquiry, the proposal of which was rejected with an outcry; which bill of indemnity went to secure the offending magistrates against the consequences of their outrages and illegalities; that is to say, in our humble conception, the poor were stricken out of the protection of the law, and the rich out of its penalties. And then another bill was passed, to give such lawless proceedings against his Majesty's subjects continuation; namely, a bill to enable the magistrates to perpetrate by law those offences which they had before committed against it; a bill to barbarize law, and to give the law itself the cast and colour of outrage. By such a bill the magistrates were enabled, without legal process, to send on board a tender his Majesty's subjects; and the country was divided into two classes, or formed into two distinct nations, living under the same king, and inhabiting the same island; one consisting of the King's magistrates, and the other of the King's subjects; the former without restraint, and the latter without privilege.

The supporters of his Majesty's ministers have boasted of the effects of this bill in establishing security; we lament that we cannot believe them; and we know very well how sanguine they have been on similar subjects, and how miserably they have deluded government and themselves. Will they assure his Majesty that this insurrection-bill prevented General Lake's proclamation; that it prevented the proclamation of the 17th of May, 1797; the proclamation of the 30th of March, 1798, or the general's orders of the 3d of April; or will they say it restored cordiality to the north, or prevented the extent of discontent to the south? These unfortunate laws, they aggravated, by making the officers of the army justices of peace. In vain has the principle of the constitution required that the military should act under the civil power; they transferred the civil power into the hands of the military; that is to say, they made the sword the magistrate, and, of course, the sword the law; they destroyed the law, and they disorganized the army; and as they had destroyed the law, so did they disgrace the gospel. They made the clergy magistrates, to commit their flock; they converted the spiritual guide into a court-constable, and the pastor of the flock into the leader of detachments, whose fold became the county gaol, and whose flock was his prisoners. By this scandalous use of the clergy did they bring shame upon the church, that saw, we hope, with concern, the armed divine renounce his evangelic calling, forego his apostolic character, and recommend himself to his Majesty's ministers, by his corrupt officiousness, to commit and imprison his own parishioners.

The perversion of the altar was accompanied by a measure as fatal to liberty as the other was to religion; we mean the total and entire suppression of the liberty of the press, by the army acting without magistrates, and by magistrates acting without law, as was the case of the press in Belfast, and a press in Dublin; the former repeatedly attacked, and finally destroyed, by military force; and the latter put down and robbed by the order of government, against law. We are to add, the suppression of a press at Cork, without any law or legal authority; and we are further to add, and with concern we say it, that now no free press will be permitted by administration, and that species of liberty is, in his Majesty's kingdom of Ireland, totally and entirely effaced and obliterated, save only, as far as the grossest exercise of licentiousness is encouraged by his ministers, in a court journal, paid at the expence of the people, supplied by some of the clerks of government, and directed against public principle and private virtue, in a strain of matchless vituperation and impudence.*

The loss of personal liberty makes an ample portion of the history we relate, viz. the imprisonment of the middling orders of people, against whom no visible charge was made, except that they were beloved by their fellow-subjects; being men of a rank which placed them above the meanness of want and the meanness of riches; and who, by a strong constitutional understanding, and by a proud, unbending, unappalled spirit, had become hateful to a faction who hated the people. What effect, we beg to submit to his Majesty, must such a measure have had on the minds of their fellow-citizens, who saw no safety for themselves, in a system where oppression took its walk among the middle and orderly rank, and where attachment to the people had become treason to the state?

The effect this had on their mind is manifest, from a general resolution to bring home the crops of the persons so imprisoned; and the dispersal of the neighbours so assembled, added considerably to that effect, still further increased when they saw most of those sufferers either triumphantly acquitted, or, without prosecution, enlarged, after having been seized in their town, torn from their families, led as traitors through their counties, and, for above a year, confined in a gaol; and now they carry about in their own person the living evidence of a convicted government and an expired constitution.

To this oppression we submit to his Majesty the dispersal or prevention of county meetings, called for the purpose of addressing the King to remove his ministers.

The people of Ireland had been greatly misrepresented; they were neither slaves nor rebels; the powers of understanding, or of mental energy, had, in some degree, passed from the highest to the middle order, who had rescued their liberty from the Parliament of Great Britain, and would not be cheated out of it by the Parliament of Ireland. They were not to be put down by venality, nor to be divided by religion. That minister who determines to enslave the people, must renounce his project, or, we speak with deference, but without fear, ultimately wade through their blood. The people, accordingly, in the spring of 1797, resorted to the constitutional ways of petition, and applied to the different sheriffs to summon their counties, and, on refusal by the sheriff, (a dangerous courtly artifice to stop the prayers of the people from reaching the throne) they summoned themselves. What was the consequence? The petitioners were (we beg to represent to his Majesty) confounded with rebels, and the enemies of his ministers were represented as the enemies of his person; the petitioners were answered by fresh troops from England and Scotland; in some instances the meetings were dispersed by the army, and, in others, were deterred by the threat of military force; and thus did his Majesty's ministers ratify the justice of the petitions against them, by adding this great and impeachable offence to all their other transgressions; and thus did his Majesty's ministers reduce Ireland to the state of a miserable province, whose ministers had stopped, totally and absolutely, the utterance of the people; in Parliament by corruption, in the nation by a convention bill, and in the counties by the army.

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* The Dublin Journal.

Their plans had, however, hitherto failed; their gunpowder bill had failed; their insurrection bill had failed; their suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* had failed; the then Parliament stood on the ruins of all the rudiments of its own constitution, and the foundations of its own authority, and presented the horrid image of a legislative body standing on the ruins of the law; a constitutional body standing on the ruins of the constitution; and a political body standing on the ruins of every principle, political or moral. All this, we submit, did not succeed; the lives and fortunes so liberally pledged to the insanities of government, they did not succeed; the war of acts of Parliament did not succeed; his Majesty's ministers then laid aside all law, or affectation of law, and resorted to a military government; accordingly they warrant their general to issue an order to his troops to disarm the people, and to act without the interposition of the civil power. We have been told, that the army has been merciful; part of his army have been so, and we thank them; but we submit to his Majesty what must be the condition of his Irish subjects, if they are to rest their lives and properties, not on the protection of the law, but the mercy of the troops. We have seen returns of the different offences committed by his Majesty's soldiers on the people of Ireland; they class under the heads of murder, rape, torture, imprisonment, and house-burning; we repeat it, torture has been applied; the people have been hung up by his Majesty's soldiers to force confessions; they have practised on the Irish what would disgrace the savage. We repeat it, — his Majesty's Irish subjects have been put to the torture; and we add, the Irish may be tortured, but they will not be enslaved. His Majesty's ministers complain of assassinations; his subjects complain of assassinations; we are ready to enter into the history of blood; and, for every drop which his ministers can charge to the account of his people, we can charge to their account a deluge; we can add violations of women, with circumstances of barbarity, at which the modesty of human nature shrieks. The women of Ireland will ever assert their characteristical superiority of chastity; they can resist the contagion of example, and every thing but the brutal force of his Majesty's troops. Such outrage, in a susceptible and sanguine country, must produce passions the least governable, and revenges the most deadly, and madden the brain of the nation to resolves very wild, very daring, and very natural. But we leave that subject to a collection of horrid crimes, which, we understand, is compiled to make its appearance, observing only, that in order to judge of the cruelties committed on the lower orders, we should suppose the same committed on those in the higher rank of life. Let us suppose a Lord-Lieutenant picketted, Lords of the council put to the torture, members of the two Houses sent to the fleet, their children hung up to extort confession, their daughters ravished, and a bill of indemnity passed for the perpetrators of all this. What would be his Majesty's feelings on such an occasion? Exactly such as are now the feelings of his Irish subjects. We lament the murder of certain unfortunate persons of the higher rank; we find no bill of indemnity in their case: and if we, and those of their order, sympathize so much in their catastrophe, how generally must the common people sympathize with one another? The compassion of the rich, if extended to the poor and the people, is humanity; but, if confined to themselves, is the impudence of wrath! if those who lament the sufferings of the one will not see the other; if they support a minister committing the other; if they cry out when an attack is made on a palace, and connive at the burning of a village; if they are inflamed when one of their own rank is assassinated, but are satisfied when the peasantry are collectively murdered; we appeal to his Majesty's own feelings, what, in such a case, is the humanity of his ministers, and their abettors? Here we perceive and lament the effects of inveteracy, conceived by his Majesty's ministers against the Irish. "Irritable and quellable, devoted to superstition, deaf to law, and hostile to property;" such was the picture, which, at different times, his ministers in Ireland have painted of his people, with a latent view to flatter the English by the degradation of the Irish; and by such sycophantship and malice they have persuaded themselves to consider their fellow-subjects as a different species of human creature, fair objects of religious proscription and political incapacities, but not of moral relationship or moral obligation. Accordingly, they have granted indemnity to the rich, and inflicted new pains and penalties on the people; they have given felonious descriptions of his Majesty's subjects, and have easily persuaded themselves to exercise felonious practices against their lives and properties; they have become as barbarous as their system, and as savage as their descriptions; and now it seems they have communicated to the British minister at once their deleterious maxims and their foul expressions, and he too indulges and wantons in villainous discourses against the people of Ireland, sounding the horrid trumpet of carnage and separation.

We leave these scenes, they are dreadful; a ministry in league with the abettors of the Orange-boys, and at war with the people; a people unable to procure a hearing in either country, while the loquacity of their enemies besieges the throne.

We leave the history of the minister, and proceed to that of the people. We shall confine ourselves to three bright passages, and when we set forth their achievements we must set forth their difficulties. We begin with the free trade. Here they had to contend against the government and the Parliament of both kingdoms; they saw the expensive courses of domestic government, (coupled with commercial restrictions, with the war and the embargo,) reduce, in or about the year 1778, the state to bankruptcy, and the people to beggary. The British government saw the same thing, and, in our approaching ruin, learning the effects of its own policy, conceived, with infinite caution, the idea of commercial relaxation. Five bills were, about that time, brought into the British Parliament, with much parade of bounty and concession. Three of them were two insignificant to be remembered; two of those bills were less unworthy of notice, one purported to permit an export from Ireland to the British plantations, or the settlements on the coast of Africa, of all our manufactures except woollen; the other the import of all their produce, tobacco excepted. The import bill not excepting sugar, was thought too extensive, and the export, with a new exception in the instance of cotton, was passed; and those five wretched bills, cut down to one wretched bill, rendered more wretched by a new exception, and which never would have been known in Ireland, but for the reluctance with which it was passed in England, was displayed to this country as food for the hungry, and raiment for the naked. It will be asked, what part did the Parliament of Ireland take on this occasion? It rejected an address declaring this measure inadequate, and substituted an apology for an address, in a declaration expressive of thanks for favours already granted, and an indolent hope that such favours would be extended.

The British minister, finding that our thanks and our ruin were perfectly compatible, sent dispatches to this country, for information more authentic than that of her Parliament. The commissioners of the revenue answer; and so heart-broken was the country at that moment, that the commissioners, stating the cause, extent, and remedy of public distress, do not venture to touch on the sound of free trade. They do not even venture to name a woollen trade; they mention the impediment interposed by the American war to emigration from Ireland, as one cause of her distress; they state the bill which we have just mentioned, and disposed of, as a great means of commerce and object of gratitude; and add, that an import trade, from the plantations and America, would be adequate. How then did the country get a free trade? By the exertions of the people. Who opposed the motion for free trade? The minister. Who proposed to bury that question in the grave of a committee? The minister. Who opposed the motion to refuse new taxes until the restoration of free trade? The minister. Who opposed the six months' money bill? The minister. We appeal to his Majesty, whom are we to thank for free trade, his people or his minister? "Frightened into concession by the menaces of Ireland; frightened out of them by the menaces of England, he was frightened back again." This is the account which the late Mr. Burke gave of the motives of the minister in that his transaction with Ireland. But even in this period, this period of popular virtue, this period of ministerial panic, this period of their consternation, for it was not concession, the minister had the precaution to preserve the parliamentary supremacy of Great Britain; he but half repealed the glass act; he chose a word of curious and select operation, the word expediency in the repeal of the woollen act; he kept the mutiny act; he kept the navy act; he kept a multitude of silent trade-laws; and he retained also an operative post-office; he preserved the splinter of the despotism, and gave the country every thing in trade, except his power of taking it all back again.

We come now to the second period of Irish achievement. Here the people had still greater difficulties to contend against; scarce had the acts of free trade been passed, when the minister took precautions against a free constitution. In an address from the Lords he stigmatized, at misguided men, those who contended for the independence of the Irish Parliament; he accompanied that address by resolutions in the Commons, couched in terms of gratitude for trade restored, but intended to dissolve the spirit of the times, and to operate against the constitution demanded; resolutions attended with a dissolute joy and fictitious thanksgiving, wherein men make peace with the government for the crime of past services to the country, by undertaking to check her progress, and blast her growth. Agreeable to their determination of opposition to the independency of the Irish Parliament, the then representative of administration canvassed the Irish House of Commons in the following memorable expressions: "Sir, — We hope you are against all constitutional questions." Agreeable to this determination two letters were sent from the Earl of Hilsborough, then one of the Secretaries of State, to the government of this country, one directing it to oppose all latent claims of the Irish nation; meaning, by latent claims, the independency of the Irish Parliament; the other directing it to oppose the introduction of an Irish mutiny bill on the principle, meaning by the principle, "the legislative competency of the British Parliament to make law for this kingdom." Agreeable to this determination, the declaration of right was rejected; it was rejected as a measure of separation, that is to say, as the Catholic bill was afterwards resisted, as an Irish mutiny bill was resisted, as the reform of Parliament was resisted, and as conciliation is now resisted; agreeably to this determination, the propounded modification of Poyning's law was rejected, and a perpetual mutiny bill was passed, with a clause of reference, whereby the Parliament of England was, in substance, enabled to make articles of war for Ireland in all time to come. Twice, in the ensuing session, was the claim of right, and twice was the modification of Poyning's law rejected; and twice was the sense of Parliament taken in favour of a perpetual mutiny bill, by majorities in all these instances, so immense in number, as to overpower their own privileges; but so slight in character, and so criminal in conduct, that the Irish secretary,* on the downfal of his party, precipitated to England to propose, and did propose, crudely indeed, and without authority, that very claim of right which the people had secured in his defiance, which he himself, with that majority, had, a few weeks before, repeatedly rejected, and had, in the speeches of his courtiers, and the pamphlets of his dependents, outraged, traduced, and stigmatized. How, then, did Ireland obtain her claim of right? we submit to his Majesty. She obtained it by the exertions of his people, by the fall of his ministry, and the defeat of their projects; these were the events which carried the claims of Ireland so triumphantly, that the very persons who had voted against, then, under a new administration, voted for that claim, and the measures connected with it; and added, in an unanimous address, that they tendered that claim as they did their lives; declaring also, that their own rejection of that measure, and the measures connected with it, was a principal cause of discontent and jealousy. Who, then, are we to thank principally for this measure? his Majesty's people, or his Majesty's ministers? We are ready to allow its share of merit to the then Parliament, and a very considerable degree of merit in the new and momentary English minister* of that period, assisting and meeting, cordially and frankly, the wishes of the people of Ireland, observing, that there never was any English minister so much slandered by the court of Dublin, nor more respected by the people.

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* Mr. Eden, afterwards Lord Auckland.

These exertions have been, by one of his Majesty's Irish ministers, called clamour. We appeal to his Majesty's candour, and ask, whether the struggle to recover the independency of the Irish Parliament, against the power of England, and under the frown of the government of the two countries, was clamour? Was the struggle to restore the judicature of the Lords, without their stir, clamour? Was the struggle to limit the perpetual mutiny bill, and make the army dependent on the Parliament, clamour? Was the struggle to abolish the legislative usurpations of the council, clamour? Was the struggle to obtain a free trade, clamour? If so, then was the petition of right, clamour; the revolution, clamour; and the act which placed his Majesty's family on the throne, clamour.

The volunteers are no more, but their memory lives to answer their defamer. His Majesty's ministers in Ireland may praise the constitution; but it was the volunteers who raised those pillars on which that praise must be recorded. There was heat, there was excess, there was inconstancy, which, by moments, affected that immense and that sanguine battalion; so, in the great works of nature, and in the rivers that bring fertility along with them, we find irregularity and deluge; shall we, therefore, pronounce the Shannon a nuisance? They did, we allow, sometimes overflow; they mixed mud in the abundance of their waters; but it was on that tide that Ireland sailed so gallantly into harbour, with her free trade and free constitution: averse to that glorious spectacle, stood the angry and jealous spirit of our ministers, chronicling the acts, and noting the errors of those very volunteers, which, at that very moment, that very ministry, in both houses of Parliament, thanked for their deserts; deserts which we are not to estimate by the existing difficulties of the day, but the difficulties, depression, and degradation of ages, through which they had to elaborate. If we consider, that the people who had thus associated for the defence of the realm, and added the cause of trade and liberty, without which that realm did not deserve to be defended, had been in a great measure excluded from the intercourse of the rest of the world; that they had, for one hundred years, been ground to the earth by commercial, political, and religious tyranny; that their domestic ministers had been the provincial slaves of another country, licensed to exercise certain predatory plundering privileges over their own; that the little learning which was not prohibited, was rocked in the cradle of prejudice. We say, if we consider that this people, so exiled, so impoverished, so plundered, so persecuted, so enslaved, so disfranchised, did, at last, spontaneously associate, unite, arm, array, defend, illustrate, and free their country, overawe bigotry, silence riot, and produce, out of their own head, armed cap-a-pee, like wisdom issuing from the head of the thunderer, commerce and constitution; what shall we say of such a people? What shall we say of the oppressors of such a people? Have those oppressors forgotten the generous offer of those volunteers, on the expected invasion, and the probable effect of that offer, when government had left us no army, and when we had no defence, save only those volunteers? Have those oppressors compared our present insecurity with a military charge of between three and four millions, and our then security, without any additional charge whatsoever? If they have, let them declare who have defended his Majesty's crown and dignity against a foreign enemy; the men who freed the nation, or the ministry who enslaved her; the volunteers or the tyrant? Let the Lords and Commons, with decorum we speak it, go to their church; they have returned thanks to the admirals for their victories, let them return thanks to the people for their being, or rather, let them return thanks to their God for their political existence recovered by that people; let the youth of the country go to the grave of the volunteer; it is at the tomb of departed patriotism, where youth is to be trained to virtue; let them frequent that grave, there the garland will be ever green, and the warm heart, and the tears of the nation will be there; and, from a due contemplation over the great inhabitant of that tomb, let them collect a conscious elevation of soul, and a prouder sense of existence. Here Majesty itself, withdrawing its ear from the poisonous suggestions of his ministers, may reflect, with pride, on the faithful Irishman, who, when encouraged and trusted, is capable of every thing which is great, of every thing which is free, of every thing which is loyal. "Oh! thou that humblest the proud, and clothest the naked, look down on this man in the day of his travail, so govern his spirit, and soften his rulers that thy will may be fulfilled, and thy people may be free!"

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* Mr. Fox.

Why do we say these things? to show that the Irish are governable, that a military government is unnecessary to preserve the connection, — that a union is unnecessary, — that there is no reason for saying, that liberty, (constitutional liberty), which has not yet been tried, is insufficient.

We come now to the next measure that deserves the name of achievement; it is the grant of the Catholic franchise; what difficulties had not the Catholics to encounter? They were reviled in every court publication; the Presbyterians were reviled for supporting them; a new word of Presbyter Catholic was invented to comprehend the vituperation of both: the court endeavoured to divide them from one another; they tampered with their nobility, they tampered with their clergy, the publications of the ministers charged on the united Irishmen that crime of which the court was guilty, "detaching the Catholic aristocracy from the Catholic people," it was the ministry who detached the chiefs from the people, and not the united Irishmen who detached the people from their chiefs; that ministry assailed them every where, in Parliament, and out of it, by a tempest of abuse, on their religion, profession, character, and appellation; they declared that the communication of the elective franchise would be the overthrow of the Protestant religion, and the British connection; and, pursuant to that allegation, they not only opposed the Catholic petition, but rejected it; and added the rejection of the petition of the Presbyterians in their favour, teaching the two sects, by a common insult, to acknowledge a common interest. The petitioners, whom they had thus banished from the bar of the House of Commons, the minister pursued into the country, and, in some cases, sent, and, in all, encouraged, resolutions to be entered into by grand juries, declaring their determination never to admit the Catholics to a participation of the elective franchise in any time to come; that is, they denounced the hopes and liberties of their Catholic brethren, without reserve, saving contingency or condition as a great fundamental principle of their political existence; and an eternal attribute of their faith, political, moral, and religious; they persecuted those your Majesty's subjects, and persecuted, until they persecuted them into a convention; and they persecuted the deputies of that convention into Great Britain, and letters were there dispatched by persons connected with that court, and given into the hands of some of the royal family, to be laid before his Majesty, containing an account of certain murders committed in Ireland, to convey an insinuation of a Catholic plot, to murder his Majesty's Protestant subjects.

About this time, certain great events took place on the continent, and his Majesty's English cabinet, influenced by those events, and by his Majesty's royal disposition, recommended to the Irish ministry and Parliament, the case of their Catholic fellow subjects, and then, that very ministry and its abettors, who had reviled their claim, had abused their persons, had insulted their petition, had declared that the communication of that elective franchise would overset the Protestant church, would overturn the Protestant government, would destroy the British connection, voted against that Protestant religion, (as by this declaration it should seem,) against that Protestant government, pursuant to the commands of the British cabinet, and against that British connection; and then did the British cabinet continue that self-convicted Irish ministry to govern the country, that is to say, to blast conciliation, to scourge the people, and to insult the nation. Here we beg leave to ask his Majesty, who are his people to thank for this restoration of privilege?

We have submitted to his Majesty, for some years back, the conduct of his ministers and of his people; we now come to answer the charges of the former against the latter; they amount principally to two charges. First, that the people are the aggressors; the second, that the experiment of conciliation has been fully and repeatedly tried. Most absolutely do we deny both; on the contrary, we affirm, not only that the aggression was on the part of the minister, but that the policy of the ministers, towards this country, has been little less than a course of aggression, interrupted by the fears of the British cabinet imposing its commands on the desperate meanness of the cabinet of Ireland, and then relapsing into violence, as it recovered from apprehension.

We pass over, in the history of aggression, the long and mighty account of a hundred years, and the extinction of our existence, political and commercial, for that period, observing, that this period, by one of our ministers, has been described as auspicious, and, observing further, that the utmost imaginable bounty of his Majesty's ministers to this country, after so long a suffering, might be a reparation to her feelings, but would not be a compensation to her interest; which reflection should, wherever his Majesty's ministers speak of Ireland, impose on them the duty of modesty and reserve. We pass over that aggression, and state the offence committed at an early period of the reign, namely, 1768, the destruction of the liberty of the subject, by the purchase of its Parliament, an enormity admitted by one of his Majesty's ministers in the House of Commons, and stated to have cost the nation half a million. We state another act of aggression, said to have been committed in the proclamation for imposing for years, without the consent of Parliament, an embargo on our provision trade; another, the enaction of a tea tax, imposed on Ireland by the British Parliament, and transmitted to the commissioners to be collected. We submit, that, in all these different proceedings, the acts of aggression, together with the criminal wish, and aggressive principle, in the heart of his Majesty's minister towards Ireland, when uncontroled by foreign events, are fully established and demonstrated. But, it will be said, that all this was done away by the acquisitions of 1782; we wish it had been so; but will posterity believe, that, seven years after that acquisition, a minister of the Crown,* speaking in Parliament, did declare, that a practice of buying the Parliament of Ireland for half a million, had been formerly resorted to, and must, if opposition persisted, again be practised; the subject was not, as has been pretended, the new places, but a charge on the opposition, who were told that a similar opposition had caused such an expense, and that the then opposition would cause a much greater one. It is in vain to equivocate; the words were uttered, the minister may have forgotten, but the people remember them, and several of us were witnesses to them; nor was it merely the minister's expression, it was his sentiment, it was his measure. The threat was put into the fullest execution; the canvass of that ministry was every where, in the House of Commons, in the lobby, in the street, at the door of the parliamentary undertakers, rapped at, and worn, by the little caitiffs of government, who offered amnesty to some, honours to others, and corruption to all, and, where the word of the Viceroy was doubted, they offered their own. Accordingly, we find, a number of parliamentary provisions were created, and divers peerages sold with such effect, that the same Parliament, who had voted the chief governor a criminal, did, immedately after, give that very governor implicit support: and the subsequent Parliament did, under the same influence, on the Catholic question, on the pension question, on the place question, vote and unvote, and turn and change, according to the orders of government, with a versatility that made an indignant public cry, shame upon them. This policy was an attack on the moral, as well as the constitutional, system, and guaranteed political slavery, by moral prostitution, proposing that the gentlemen of Parliament should be systematically robbers, in order that the people should be systematically slaves. It was a condition on which no freedom, no government, no religion, no connection, no throne, could long rest.

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* Mr. Fitzgibbon (Attorney-General.)

It was the renunciation of the repeal of the 6th of George I., and a repeal of the act of renunciation, transferring the legislative function of the Irish Parliament in full power and dominion to the British cabinet. All the clubs, whig club, united Irishmen, &c. grew out of that measure. All the public disconsents which have been the theme of government, grew out of that measure and its consequences. Could it be otherwise? Could that people, who had refused to obey the authority of the English Parliament, allow the legislative usurpation of its cabinet? What now becomes of that interrogatory, which demands, why the people were not, pursuant to the declaration, satisfied with repeal and renunciation? What! satisfied with being cheated? With being handed over from a British Parliament to a British cabinet? We ask, could that people, who had refused to obey the legislative authority of the Parliament of England, obey the legislative usurpation of her cabinet, founded on the purchase of the Irish Parliament, and the sale of the Irish nation? Could that people, who had armed for their country, her defence, and her freedom; who had recovered her trade, restored her independency, established a great, (and it shall not be our fault if it be not an immortal,) name, cancel that renown, renounce that liberty, endanger that commerce, surrender that independency, and consent to be canted like stock, and, as slaves, to be transferred to the legislative yoke of the cabinet of another country, in covin with the subaltern tyranny of the cabinet of their own, in the hands of a ministry who had opposed the claims of the country, mourned over her acquisitions, bartered away her independency, blemished her character, and insulted her spirit? Could they, who are charged with the crime of a refusal of amnesty from the Marquis of Buckingham, give that nobleman amnesty for a conduct which they themselves had just condemned, and which he, by subsequent malefactions, had greatly aggravated? Could they, who are charged by the publication of the minister with a declaration pledging themselves to satisfaction, as far as regarded England, in the establishment of legislative and judicial independency, entertain satisfaction in the loss of that independency, and support the instruments of provincial government, who had purloined that independency? Could they forget who they were, and who that ministry was, and derogate from themselves so far, as to sink into its little comrade in its dirty doings, the purchase of the Parliament, the transfer of the legislature, the sale of the peerage, and the persecution of the Catholics? In what country do we write this? To what ear do we address ourselves? In the presence of a people claiming to be free, and before their sovereign, whose greatest glory is to be appointed the king of a free people, do we interpose once more our solemn protest against the proceedings and sentiments above related, as polluted, desperate, shameless, and incorrigible. If ever there shall be, in this country, a rebellion, those proceedings, and the measures adopted in support of those proceedings, will be the cause of it; if ever there shall be a separation of Ireland from Great Britain, those proceedings, and the measures adopted to support those proceedings, will be the cause of it; if the administration of this country became afterwards a government of coercion, and after a government of blood, those proceedings were the cause. Against them, against the strain of sentiments which suggested them, against the melancholy train of calamities which followed from them, and against the bloody train of consequences which threaten, we beg once more to enter our most solemn protest.

Before we close the scene; we call on his Majesty's ministers in both countries. We have stated, not mischiefs, but violations, not evil measures, but deadly productive principles of evil. We ask them, in the presence of both nations, in the presence of their king, to whom we appeal against them? We ask, whether the monstrous bribery of the Irish Parliament in 1769, to break down national party, and Irish influence, and to substitute therein a British minister's domination? Whether an embargo on the export of our provision, imposed by proclamation, without the consent of Parliament, and continued for years, with a view to serve certain British contractors in the American war? Whether these acts were a subversion of the fundamental rights and liberties of the subject? Whether a tea-tax, imposed by the British Parliament on the people of Ireland in 1779, was an attempt to subvert the fundamental rights and liberties of the subject? Whether a perpetual mutiny bill, forming an army, independent of Parliament, was a subversion of the fundamental rights and liberties of the subject? Whether a tribute, contained in the propositions, was an attempt to subvert the fundamental rights and liberties of the subject? Whether the second purchase of Parliament, in 1789, was the subversion of the fundamental rights and liberties of the subject? Whether the transfer of legislature, the consequence of that purchase to the British cabinet, was the subversion of the fundamental rights and liberties of the subject? Was the sale of the peerage, for the purchase of the Commons, a subversion of the fundamental rights and liberties of the subject? Let his Majesty's ministers look to their dates, and say, whether any conspiracy in any description of men, be charged, even by themselves, to have existed, before they committed, against the people of our country, these deadly and recorded atrocities? We ask again, was the transportation of the country people a-board a tender, without judge, or jury, or process, a subversion of the fundamental rights and liberties of the subject? We ask, did the military organization of the country, of which they have complained, exist before that time? We, therefore, in common with our fellow-subjects, who are not now permitted to meet, arraign those ministers; let them come forth. That calamitous minister *, who has lately inveighed against the Irish, and who now endeavours to sharpen the minds of his countrymen, for an Irish, as his predecessors did for an American, war; the other inflammatory minister †, who seems to have transmitted to the cabinet of England his fury and his folly; in the presence of His Majesty, we arraign them, as the authors of the distraction of Ireland; and we affirm, that they subverted the fundamental rights and constitution of the land, before their charge supposes any description of the people to have conspired against the government.

We have answered the charge of aggression; we come to that of conciliation: the first experiment of conciliation was in 1782. We beg to consider the nature of that experiment; it was an experiment to accomplish impossibilities, to reconcile the ancient government of jobbers and dependents, with the new spirit of the people, who had recovered their constitution, by obtaining a victory over that government; it was an attempt to unite the hoary decrepitude of the old jobbing ministry and the borough Parliament, with the dignity, the expectations, the exigencies, and the feelings of what was emphatically called — young Ireland.

The business of the repeal and renunciation was settled; one of the objects of the claim of right had been, to oblige the Parliament of England to withdraw its claim of legislature; and the people had at first conceived the repeal of the act containing that claim to be sufficient; they afterward changed their mind, — no matter; they changed their mind without legal ground, and against the best legal authorities, but under considerable authorities notwithstanding; they had the authority of an experienced and consummate senator ‡; they had the authority of a corps, styling itself a corps of lawyers, (they have since been less sanguine,) enrolling the names of several respectable barristers, and using the name of the bar to influence the people. They had the secret fomentation of some of the old court, who, being discountenanced for that moment

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* Mr. Pitt.

† Lord Clare.

‡ Mr. Flood.

for their past opposition to regular liberty, had retired to its excesses. Have the abettors of this doubt been rewarded? Have some of them been made marquisses, and some of them judges, and shall we denounce the people? The dispute being, however, settled, and the momentary administration of Lord Northington, (every patriot administration in Ireland has been momentary,) that administration under which several beneficial regulations and laws, constitutional and commercial, had passed, being removed, and the old court returning in plenitude of power, to meet an Irish Parliament in plenitude of independency, it remained for that Parliament to act, and that Parliament would do nothing. The people saw the English manufacturers in possession of our market, a possession obtained by unjust and despotic regulations, and not the result of fair rivalship; they knew that their Parliament, till that æra, wanted the power to recover these markets; they saw the Irish gentleman clothed, as he had been governed, by the British manufacturer; they knew as well as their minister that the wool of the country might not at all times equal her consumption; but then they knew better, it seems, than that minister, that it was more expedient to work Spanish wool in Ireland, than to export Irish wool and buy English cloth in Great Britain; they therefore called on their Parliament to protect their trade, but this call their Parliament thought proper to refuse, and decided against the establishment of their own manufactures in their own markets; they decided also against the re-export of foreign produce.

The act of navigation had not in form passed in Ireland, there were doubts whether it had passed at all, so great, that considerable persons in England became desirous that it should pass in this country verbatim; the construction which England had given, or the alteration which she had annexed to that act, had amounted to the exclusion of a re-export from Ireland to Great Britain, while she enforced a re-export from Great Britain into Ireland: here was an opportunity of rectifying this misconstruction and inequality: how did the Parliament use this opportunity? By suffering the continuance of this misconstruction and inequality, by rejecting two proposed clauses of reciprocity, and by passing the act of navigation for England, without a stipulation of justice or equality for Ireland. It afterwards bought that equality, by the sale of the rights of Ireland to trade to the East. How did that Parliament act with respect to the extravagancies of government, old and new? it allowed them all; it rejected a motion to diminish the expence of collecting the revenue; it provided for all the extravagant charges that were at that time preferred; it had given in new taxes 140,000*l.* *per annum*, on stipulation of trade and economy; instead of trade and economy, it got a new debt, and a new pension list, and was satisfied. It passed a riot act, it passed a police bill, and it rejected a bill of reform. The question of reform had been more interesting, from the success of the question of independency; the people had settled their dispute with the British Parliament, it remained to come to a settlement with their own. Their Parliament was returned by the individual, not the community; and the individual sold his compliance to the court of London; the people thought it just and right, as they had by their own exertions shaken off the domination of an English Parliament, to call for an Irish one; they were quickened in that pursuit from the example of some of the present ministers of England, but we are sorry to add, that their offences against Ireland were a greater incentive than their example. We submit to His Majesty how Parliament acted on that question; they rejected the reform bill under the influence of his minister, as they had under the same influence rejected almost every other popular measure.

We come now to lay before His Majesty the close of this first experiment of reconciliation. That Parliament, on the indisposition of His Majesty*, attempted to exercise a will of its own, and the consequence was as has been stated already, and acknowledged by the servants of government, His Majesty's ministers immediately, by a monstrous increase of offices, avowedly bought the Parliament, and made that influence irresistible, which had been before but too predominant. The Irish Parliament had in general complied, it had occasionally resisted, and to that resistance owed its credit; but when this inundation of corruption was let loose upon the Commons, little was the hope remaining that any combination possible, or any coalition of aristocratic and popular strength in Parliament, should affect a minister in Ireland, or resist the orders of the British cabinet, thus, in effect, possessed of the power of the Irish Parliament substantially transferred to Great Britain; we submit to His Majesty what was then this experiment of conciliation. It was the independency of the Irish Parliament in 1782, and the purchase of that independence in 1789, attended in the interim for the most part by a suspension of its exercise. Is any minister now so idle, so superficial, so obstinate, so uninformed, and so desperate, as to persist to call, in the presence of His Majesty, this transaction an experiment of conciliation; an experiment after which the people perceived the same images of pollution in the ministry, and a vast increase of rank majority in the senate, and beheld in the person of the Lord Lieutenant's secretary, the same dictator, the representative of the English merchant and the British cabinet, placed in the seat of his predecessors, with more authority, lording it over the Irish Parliament, busy to suckle corruption and famish freedom, and active to receive from men calling themselves the representatives of the Irish, horrid incense, affording a spectacle so vile and abject, that the people turned their faces away as from an abomination?

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* Question of Regency in 1789.

We come now to another experiment, the Catholic concession.* There was a circumstance attending the outset of that experiment, extremely awkward. It could not be made without obliging the Irish Parliament and ministry to contradict their most solemn declaration, to do away their most decided acts, and to renounce that execrable creed of some months before, professed with the solemnity of a religious contract, and uttered in a roar of frenzy, of folly, of bigotry, and of a poor unfortunate fanatic intolerance†, so that the measure which should reconcile the people to the English ministry, must render them, if they were not so before, irreconcileable to the Irish ministry and the Irish Parliament; and so sensible was the House of Commons of this, that a few days after its versatility, it voted the necessity of its own reformation; but though the concession for the purpose of sinking the Irish ministry and Parliament was ample and complete, yet, for the service of the English ministry, it was scanty and ill-supported; scarce was the concession recommended from the throne, when the custody of this conciliation was left to the persecuting party, that had forbidden the bonds of concord between the King and his subjects. Scarce had the Catholic petition been referred to the Lords, when it was charged and scourged by one of the ministers throwing his quiver of parthian shafts at conciliation. The Catholics had passed through the red sea; had wandered in the desert for a hundred years; and when His Majesty was advised to beckon them by his sceptre to the borders of the promised land, his Irish ministers seized their leaders to hang them; several of them were immediately tried on a capital charge, and were triumphantly acquitted, as they had been unjustly and ignominiously arraigned: was this conciliation? Scarce had the bill passed, when all the influence of the Castle was exercised to keep the Catholics out of the corporations, and to exclude them by in-

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[*] 1793.

[†] Rejection of Catholic measures in 1792.

trigue from situations to which they were indeed admissible by law. We wish His Majesty would order his servants to lay before him a list of such Catholics as they have appointed to enjoy situations under the new act of relaxation. Scarce had the bill been committed, when it was declared in a speech supposed to have been uttered and published by one of the ministers, that "the Catholics could never be cordially affected to His Majesty, that they were as barbarous as ever, that the mass were only rescued from brutality by bigotry, and that, if they did not wish to subvert the Protestant religion, they must resist the ruling passions of the human heart."* What had been said if, after the revolution of 1688, the ministers of James II. had been the counsellors of King William? Exactly what was said in Ireland when the ministers of a system of proscription were made the guardians of a system of liberality, and the scolds of the people the ministers of conciliation; when, on a plan of reconciling the Irish by parliamentary constitution and Catholic emancipation, those ministers were retained who had given the one expressly a cordial disapprobation †, and had called the other an act of insanity.

Here then is the second experiment; an experiment on the affection of a numerous community, commencing in inequality, accompanied with vituperation, resisted in execution, and committed to the care of its most inveterate enemies.

But in order to lay before His Majesty the grounds whereby to make a full and fair estimate of the merits of the second experiment; we will consider the third — the appointment of Earl Fitzwilliam to the government of Ireland. Here is an experiment of conciliation, where a Lord Lieutenant was sent to this country with professed powers of concession, was permitted to get an immense supply on the credit of those powers, and then was recalled before the concession was made, on the professed charge of having resorted to the experiment of conciliation; we are to add, that His Majesty's subjects having very generally petitioned on the subject of this fraud and insult, were answered by troops. Here then are three experiments made by His Majesty's ministers on the affections of his Irish subjects; the first, where the thing conceded was substantially withdrawn. The second, where the enemies of the conciliation were continued in the ministry; and the third, where the viceroy was recalled for making the experiment.

"You got a repeal, and you were not satisfied; a renunciation, and you were not satisfied; a place bill, and you were not satisfied; a pension bill, and you were not satisfied; a responsibility bill, and you were not satisfied;" says the minister. We answer: What was the object of the people on the repeal? what in the renunciation? what in the place? what in the pension bill? An Irish independent Parliament, with a Commons chosen by the people — did they get such a House of Parliament? Let the minister answer that question.

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* Speech of Earl of Clare.

† Speech of Mr. Fitzgibbon against the declaration of Irish Rights.

These measures were concessions to clamour, says the minister, and it is because they were felt by the minister as concessions to what they call clamour, that they were in execution inadequate, in effect unsatisfactory, and in process of time were evaded and eluded.

"You got a place-bill," say the minister; no! such bills, of different extents and different modifications, had been repeatedly introduced, and repeatedly rejected; and then, in the panic of 1793, instead of a place-bill, a bill calling itself by that name; but, in fact, an elusion of a place-bill was proposed by the minister, renounced by the opposition, and passed by the Parliament; a bill which disqualified but a few offices, — put down none, — and was accompanied or followed by a vast increase of influence, mediate or immediate. You got a pension-bill, says the minister; yes — but a pension-bill without its object: what was the object of a place and pension-bill to the opposition, for they were never primary objects of the people — the internal reform of Parliament; and what was the effect of the minister's place and pension bill? An evasion of that reform, and the retention and the increase of undue influence. Shall we observe on the treasury or responsibility bill? Enough to say it had been delayed for above a year after it had been promised, and was finally secured by Lord Fitzwilliam's administration, by certain regulations then passed, and under all the circumstances of influence abovementioned, amounted to responsibility in His Majesty's ministers to themselves; in these measures we submit to His Majesty, his ministers gave the bills, but kept the Parliament.

One of His Majesty's ministers has arraigned the people for stirring commercial questions, after having through their Parliament engaged, that, on the admission of their claims of right, as far as concerns the two nations, constitutional questions should cease. We will not suffer the enemy of the claim of right to become its commentator, and we cannot but marvel at a remark which supposes the word constitutional to be another word, namely, commercial; and to mean, that a satisfaction in commercial inequality and injustice, should be the result of the establishment of constitutional equality and independence; in the same strain of inanity, it is charged, that an application for the redress of domestic abuses, was a departure from the pledge of satisfaction in the address of 1782. That pledge speaks of constitutional questions between the two nations, which the remarker supposes to mean all commercial questions with England, and all kind of questions with our own government, of any nature whatever; it would seem by this that the people contended for a free constitution, to place the opponents of that constitution at the head of the government; we beg to observe, that that claim, which demanded to be legislated by no power save only the King, the Lords, and Commons of Ireland, did expressly go against a stipulation of satisfaction in a borough representation, to the exclusion of the Commons, and did impliedly go against an acquiescence in the appointment of the present administration; a ministry who had first opposed the rights of their own Parliament; afterwards, by millions or half millions, had rendered those rights inefficacious. With as little reason has the Catholic been reproached, and told, that in point of right he was equal to the Protestant, because he could sit in either Houses of Parliament, if he swore he was not a Catholic. This inequality, which one of the ministers denied, he afterwards justifies by an assertion, (a common figure of speech with those ministers,) that the support of His Majesty's throne was, (we should say his people,) his minister says, a declaration containing an abhorrence of the Virgin Mary, and the abjuration of the real presence; that the Irish legislature, however competent to disfranchise, is incompetent to qualify the Catholic to sit in Parliament, and the King at his coronation, takes an oath against the privileges of three million of his subjects. We have done with the history of His Majesty's ministers and their argument; it is a history of crime, and a refutation of folly.

We have done with the account which His Majesty's ministers have given of the people; we close with the account which they have given of themselves, not in words but in substance: they came forward in 1789, and affirmed, that the Parliament of Ireland had exercised a power of independent legislature, which tended to separation; and they desire, for the management of that Parliament, the sale of the peerage, and the use of the treasury; in 1793, the same ministry came forward again, and gave an account of the effect of this operation; and affirm, on the authority, as they say, of a report of a committee of the House of Lords, that the people were so exasperated, as to have determined to reform that Parliament by force of arms. They accordingly demand extraordinary powers for the coercion of the people, as they had before demanded extraordinary sums of money for the government of the Parliament; they came forth again to report the effect of their second operation; they affirm, on the authority, they say, of a report of committees of both Houses, that matters had become infinitely worse, for that the people of the north had actually enrolled, to the number of above ninety-thousand, for purposes hostile to the government; they therefore desire more powers, and, as law had hitherto proved insufficient for their purposes, they desire to be permitted to act without it, and to let the army loose upon the people; in the course of a year, the same ministry came forward again, and give an account of their third experiment: they state, that they had lost the affections of the south as well as of the north; that the province which on the former year had displayed its loyalty, had changed its sentiments; that a great part of Leinster, as well as of Munster, in addition to Ulster, had now become organized; and that the French Directory had manifested a disposition to interfere for the separation of this island from the crown, and from Great Britain. Here is their system and its consequences, as substantially stated by themselves.

We conclude our humble representation, by preferring our warmest wish for peace, good order, and tranquillity on all sides; but we think, that the surest method of establishing the peace of the country, is to restrain the violence of its administration, and, with the greatest respect, and feeling all attachment to His Majesty's person and family, we are bold to say, that if time be given for the experiment of conciliation, and if, before an invasion, that experiment be tried soon, and fairly, and honestly; if the removal of the integral parts of the administration, who never possessed the confidence of our country, and are now its bitterest scourge; if an emancipation of the Catholics, on the footing of perfect political equality, seconded by the honest wishes in the government, with an internal reform of Parliament; if a full, fair, and adequate representation of the Commons House, the parent measure of every other good; if such remedies be now resorted to, we submit, that His Majesty will take measures which, in the present tremendous crisis, are the best, the wisest, and the soundest left, both for the strength of the government and the security of the crown.

Note in Mr. Grattan's hand-writing.

This conclusion is just — the true interest of Ireland is connection with England and not with France — there are obvious reasons — if Ireland separate, England loses her empire, and France prevails against the liberties of Europe — and it is folly to suppose that Ireland can keep her freedom after Europe is enslaved — it is for that reason above all that I have never listened to the idea of invasion or insurrection, because they lead to servitude through a sea of blood — but there is a middle course, such as here is proposed, uniting the two duties — the duty we owe to the country — and the duty we owe to the King.

The publication of this paper I have stopped, on account of the sad disturbances in Ireland, least this might inflame instead of allaying or reconciling.

29th May 1798.

REFERENCES IN THE PRECEDING PETITION.

King's speech to his English Parliament, in 1774.

Act of the English Parliament, imposing a tea-tax on Ireland, in 1779.

Publication of a speech in the name of the Chancellor*, in January 1793.

Ditto, in the spring of 1793.

Proclamation for laying an embargo on the export of Irish provision, without the consent of Parliament, in 1776.

See rejection of the petition of the Catholics, in 1792.

Of the petition of the Presbyterians in 1792.—*Irish Journal.*

See rejection of motions on reciprocal commerce, see debate of 1787.

For new Parliamentary provisions in the administration of 1768, see the establishment of 1770, 1771, and 1772.

For those of 1789, see the establishment of 1798.

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* John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare.

LETTER

ON THE

CONDUCT OF CERTAIN BODIES IN IRELAND IN 1798.

To the Editor of the Courier.

Sir,

I resort to your paper to communicate a letter to certain description of persons in Ireland, who have been extremely busy in their attacks on me, and who deserve not absolute silence, nor yet much notice. *

I choose to begin with that rank which I respect most, the merchants; and were those persons using the name of that corporation the mercantile body of Dublin, I should be sorry indeed; not because I allow that the whole body, much as I respect them, could, by a scandalous proceeding, bear down my character, but because I should be afflicted that by such a proceeding they had forfeited their own. I feel myself so linked and connected with every thing which belongs to the great body of the people of Ireland, that a comprehensive description of them could not, by any injustice, disgrace itself, without involving their natural friend and advocate in their degradation. Happy am I, however, that the persons in question are no more the merchants of Dublin than they are the people of Ireland; on the contrary, that they are an inconsiderable gathering, actuated by what folly or faction I care not, who have, in the charge against me, uttered not only what cannot be true, but what is recorded to be false: they have said, that they have legal evidence that I was concerned in the late rebellion, and the only matter they could have had before them was the report of the Committee of the Irish Lords, which is no legal evidence of any charge whatever against me: and which, if it were, is not evidence of that crime; so that those men, calling themselves the Guild of Merchants of

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* Mr. Grattan's name had been erased from the Privy Council and the Guild of Merchants.

Dublin, have asserted, published, and sealed, a *self-convicted falsehood.* I lament to be forced to use such words, and yet they are the mildest words such a conduct deserves, and must be understood by them and applied to them in a sense the most unmeasured, and the most unqualified.

To the Corporation of Dublin I wish to say a word: they are not the citizens of Dublin; they are not even a considerable part of them, and they never spoke their spirit nor their sentiments; but as they have the honour of appertaining to the city, they are entitled to a degree of attention; and the best method of showing it, is by advising them to be less fond of displaying themselves on every occasion. There are cases where their exertions are proofs of their folly, and where their repose would be an argument of their wisdom. All ministers, all men in power, all clerks, and the whole mob and rabble of the court, have been so sweltered with their charms, that it now requires a more than popular appetite to encounter their embraces; but very little share of philosophy to endure their displeasure. They ever wait on the wink of power to praise or persecute, and to blemish a reputation by unjust calumny, or unmeaning panegyric. With respect to them, with respect to the other corporation, with respect to all persons adopting similar proceedings, I am inclined to attribute much less to malice, and much more to folly; a good deal to influence, a good deal to servility, and to that low, impotent, persecuting spirit, by which the slavish mind shows its devotion at the expence of its understanding.

I ought not to be angry with these men, because I am one of the few of His Majesty's subjects, whom their charges, even if they were echoed as they are reprobated by my country, could not affect, and who might receive a thousand such shafts on the shield of character, not with indignation, not with contempt, but with calm and pointed forgiveness, the result of a proud superiority, founded on my services and their injustice. To be angry with such men were to be degraded. On the subject of the charge I will make no explanation to them. I have said thus much to them, and they deserve much more; but I am not in the habit of reproaching any portion of my fellow citizens; if their mortification were the wish of my heart, I would refer them to the invectives of some of His Majesty's ministers.

Were it not robbing Heaven of their time, I would say a few words to the doctors.* They have judged, they have condemned; but they forgot to try, they forgot to enquire. Pindaric poetry I admire; yet, I desire not to be tried by Pindaric justice. But divine men have privileges over the moral order of things, and in their holy way may spurn the vulgar bounds of equity, and pedant rules of evidence. Perhaps the sable buckler of divinity is not always court-proof, up and down, exalted and detested, his picture high, his person just not hanged; mildness and Fitzwilliam; coercion and torture. Do I mention these things to condemn the learned doctors? No. But may I congratulate the memory of mad Athens and tempestuous Rome, who find a pious shade cast over their insanities, by an example of more than republican inconstancy, in the instance of grave, orderly, regular, solid, and most excellent clergymen. I assure them I am not their enemy, though they may be mine. But that is not the case with another description of men with whom I should be ashamed to discourse in the same tone of temper and moderation. I mean that Irish faction, which is the secret mover of all this calumny, and all this injustice; they stand at the head of a bloody combination.* I look on them as the cause of every evil that has of late fallen on their country. I protest I do not know a faction which, considering the very small measure of their credit and ability, has done so much mischief to their king and country. They opposed the restoration of the constitution of Ireland; they afterward endeavoured to betray and undermine it; they introduced a system of corruption unknown in the annals of Parliament; they then proclaimed that corruption so loudly, so scandalously, and so broadly, that one of them was obliged to deny in one house the notorious expressions he had used in another. They accompanied these offences by an abominable petulance of invective, uttered from time to time against the great body of the people of Ireland, and having, by such proceedings and such discourse, lost their affection, they resorted to a system of coercion to support a system of corruption, which they closed by a system of torture, attendant on a conspiracy of which their crimes were the cause. And now their country displays a most extraordinary contest, where an Englishman at the head of its government †, struggles to spare the Irish people, and an Irish faction presses to shed their blood. I repeat it, I do not know a faction more dangerous, more malignant, or more sanguinary.

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* The University of Dublin had removed Mr. Grattan's picture from their hall, and put in its place that of the Earl of Clare.

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* The violent Court, or Orange party.

† Lord Cornwallis.

I am ready to enter into a detail of all this. Enough at present to say, that I have been forced to write thus much, because I have no opportunity of vindication but the press, and no press but that of England.

I shall conclude by assuring that faction, that I am apprized of their enmity, and shall wait to meet their hostility; hoping, however, that they may not be my judges, or their blood-hounds my jury. At all events, if such a faction be permitted to dominate in Ireland, I had rather suffer by its injustice than live under its oppression.

HENRY GRATTAN.

Twickenham, November 9, 1798.

ANSWER

TO A

PAMPHLET OF LORD CLARE.

To the Printer.

I HAVE seen a pamphlet, purporting to be written on the Union, and published in the name of the Earl of Clare. The speech of the Noble Earl, delivered in the House of Lords, I have nothing to say to; but a publication is not a speech, and though it be the work of a member of Parliament, has no privilege. Whether his Lordship be the author, I have no authority, save the assumption of the publication, to affirm; but the pamphlet contains against several, with whom I have acted, charges, the most direct, and against myself, for the last twenty years, charges the least qualified, and insinuations the most deep. What is yet worse, it tends to lower the character of the country, and to tarnish the brightest passages of her history, as well as the memories of the persons concerned in those transactions. Matter so various and comprehensive, could not be regularly discussed in any debate that has come, or is likely to come, before the House of Commons. In the interval of business, I therefore resort to the only method of defence, the press.

H. GRATTAN.

Mr. Grattan will take no notice of any answer, except one coming from the author of the pamphlet.

Dublin, April, 1800.

OF the work which it is proposed to answer nearly one third is the common place of Irish history. Much of abridgment, much of misrepresentation, no new discovery, no new remark; the termini, or landmarks of historic knowledge, remain precisely as they were, in their old sober station. What was long known before by many men, by many women, and by many children, the compendium of the studies of your childhood, this pamphlet reports to you, for the amusement of your age, without any other novelty, save that of misrepresentation. The idea is to make your history a calumny against your ancestors, in order to disfranchise your posterity; the execution is without the temper of a commentator, or the knowledge of an historian.

We will begin with this performance, at the Irish Parliament of James I. The author is now within 187 years of his subject. Ireland, says he, had no parliamentary constitution till that time. Here his pages only deserve attention, in order to vindicate the lineage of our liberties against slander. This statement is a traduction of the inheritance of the realm, a calumny against her antiquities, and a falsification of her title. Lord Coke, the judges of England, the records of Ireland, the *modus tenendi parliamentum*, the statute-book, the extent of acts of Parliament before the reign of James throughout the realm, and the act of annexation among others, answer him. From all those you find, that Ireland had a Parliament from the beginning, and that the legislature was not of the Pale, but of the nation.*

The boldness of this assertion is rendered the more remarkable by the distinguished feebleness of its reasoning. The pamphlet attempts to prove that to be true in argument which is false in fact; and its argument is, that James I. generalized Irish representation by forty private boroughs, that is, that he rendered representation general, by making it particular. It teaches you to think, that it was James instead of Elizabeth who created the seventeen counties, and that he did not create the forty boroughs, by him erected to counteract that county representation, in order to pack a Parliament. It conceives, that the legislature was not general, because the representation was not so. It should have said, that the legislature being general, the representation ought to be so. It discovers two ideas of a new and extraordinary nature on this subject, that Parliament is confined by the bounds of representation, and that national representation is extended by the creation of private boroughs. And for this paradoxical idea of Parliament, and this paradoxical idea of representation, it offers you nothing like extent of erudition, or force of imagination, it is dull error. The art of modern war, says the pamphlet, is to traduce the house of Stuart; the art of modern court loyalty, it might have added, is to praise the principle of the Stewart, and to plant it in the house of Hanover.

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* See the speech of the late Secretary of State, Mr. Hutchinson, on the subject of parliamentary reform, in the parliamentary debates of 1793. It is a complete answer to the pamphlet on this part of the subject. See extract from it at the end.

The pamphlet now comes to its own times, and it is to be remarked, that as it dwelt on the past with all the fury and prejudices of the present time, so it expatiates on the present, with as much error and mistake, as if it were treating of the remotest antiquity. It * states the adjustment of 1782, to be described by its author as follows: " that it emanated from the armed convention assembled at Dungannon, was approved at county meetings of the people, armed and unarmed, and was sanctioned and registered by the Irish Parliament." No such thing, nor any thing like it, did its author say, nor suggest, nor hint; and this statement of the pamphlet is not misrepresentation, nor misinterpretation, but palpable invention; did not the pamphlet assume the name of a judicial character, I would say, downright falsehood. I respect and admire the meeting at Dungannon, but the subjects of 1782 did not emanate from thence; two years before were they discussed in Parliament; they were discussed on the 19th of April, 1780, on a motion made by myself; and in the course of that session, and of the next session, repeatedly and fully. They were adopted by different counties, and various descriptions of men, and they finally passed the Parliament. Such is the history; the pamphlet falsifies the history, to blemish a great transaction, and attributes that falsification to me in order to blemish an individual.

We follow the work where it will be perhaps more fortunate. It objects, on the question of the claim of right, to the declarations of the volunteers. Their character now, it seems, it professes to admire; their conduct, however, (this was the most leading part of the conduct of the old volunteers,) it condemns; the inconsistency of setting up a character, and putting down a conduct, is glaring; but in a work pregnant with every thing which is exceptionable hardly deserves notice. But will any man seriously say, that those bodies should not have come forward at that time with resolutions in favour of a claim of right? Does any man mean to affirm, that we could have established that claim without them? Does any man mean to say, that the claim did not deserve to be established? If so, he is a slave; and in neither case does he deserve an answer. To have countenanced resolutions essential to the establishment of your constitution, and to have opposed any further interference, when that constitution was established, was the duty and the pride of them by whom the business of 1782

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* No such statement is to be found in any of Mr. Grattan's speeches.

was conducted. By the first step they procured the constitution; by the second they saved the government; and in both they deserved well of their country, and are placed far above the reach of the author of this little performance, its little censure or its little panegyric. We thought, that at that time, as in the period of *Magna Charta*, armed men might make declarations to recover liberty; and having recovered it, we thought they secured their glory as well as their freedom, by retiring to cultivate the blessings of peace.

The pamphlet has further objections; it condemns the expedition with which the claim of right was established; it calls for discussion, and delay; to do what? To debate whether the English Parliament had a right to make laws for Ireland? Whether the privy councils in both countries should alter your bills? Or whether the mutiny bill should be perpetual? Why, for the two preceding years, these subjects had been, and little other than these subjects had been, debated. The pamphlet has proved to you, however, the necessity of expedition, by its argument for delay; for it explains to you, that we were to delay the question, in order to sell it, that is, in order to diminish, clog, and condition your claim of right. You were to delay, the pamphlet explains, in order to preserve to the Parliament of England, over this country, a share of legislative power; and the pamphlet administers additional arguments against its project of delay, by showing you, that the viceroy of that time was intriguing against your favourite measures; and it gives you still further arguments against delay, by suggesting, that there were certain gentlemen at that time, who would not with their lives have supported their liberties; it might have added, nor with their votes. Perfectly well do we understand the author; and this pamphlet might have added, with peculiar authority, that there were certain young gentlemen at that time ready to barter honour for office, and liberty for chains. It was, therefore, we did not listen to the idea of delay; we did not choose to set up the inheritance of the people of Ireland to auction; we were applied to for delay, and we refused it; we thought the 16th of April was the day of the Irish nation, and we were determined not to lay our heads on the pillow until we could say, *This day Ireland has obtained a victory.*

Seeing, then, that the constitution was established without delay, or barter, or auction, the pamphlet does not despair; it has a cure, viz. corruption; it does not indeed set forth corruption in words, but it does amply and broadly in idea.

The expressions are these: " The only security for national concurrence is a permanent and commanding influence of the

English executive, or rather English cabinet, in the councils of Ireland." By councils of Ireland it means, and professes to mean, nothing less than the Parliament, see page 45. Here is the necessary substitute, it seems, for the British Parliament — here is the half million — here is the dependency of the Irish Parliament avowed as a principle; here breaks out the taint and sore of that system, whose rankness the pamphlet seems to have deeply inhaled, and with whose political incense it now deigns to regale our nostrils and its own; here is acknowledged the truth of the complaint of the opposition, namely, that the British minister, some years after the settlement of 1782, wished, through his agents here, to filch back our constitution of 1782, so honourably and nobly obtained, and to resume by fraud what had been obtained by treaty. In vain shall a minister come forth in sounding words, such as national concurrence or national connection, and wrap himself up in the threadbare coat of zeal for empire, to stab his country to the heart; such arguments are not to be answered but punished, and when any man shall avow that he has no idea of governing in this country, without rendering her Parliament, by the means of influence, perfectly dependent on Great Britain, he avows not his profligacy only, but his incapacity also. Such a minister could not govern without corruption; he could not govern with it; he might indeed begin by attempts to pack a Parliament, but he will conclude by rebellion.

To return to the pamphlet. On the subject of the claim of right, the author seems to have three parental ideas: first, that the volunteers should have made no declaration on the subject; secondly, that the question should have been left open to delay; and, thirdly, that the British cabinet should succeed to the power of the British Parliament. By the first plan the constitution had been lost; by the second sold; and by the third corrupted. We follow the pamphlet: it states, that the adjustment of 1782 was described by the author of it as follows: then he introduces a description which certainly was given by its author, but which was not a description of the adjustment of the Parliament of 1782, but of a Parliament that sat 187 years ago, and which was assembled by James I. in the year of our Lord 1613. Here again is that of which we have so often reason to complain in this work, fabrication; true it is, that the boroughs created by James I. have had their effect on posterity, and true it is, that those boroughs continue to send members to Parliament; so far the Parliament of 1782 and of 1613 had a similitude; but it is not true that the Parliament of 1782 was a packed Parliament like that of 1613; it is not true that the representatives of the boroughs were either attornies' clerks or the servants of the Castle, as in 1613; nor is it true that the boroughs of 1782 resembled those created by James in 1613; and so far the two Parliaments have no similitude. Mr. Burke, speaking to me of some country that had prospered under a constitution consisting of three estates, but estates defectively formed, observed, "that it was of the nature of a constitution so formed as ours, however clumsy the constituent parts, when set together in action, ultimately to act well;" so of that in question. The boroughs, in a course of time, ceased to be under the influence of the king, and the constitution took root in the people; the crown became dependent for supply on the Parliament, and the Parliament, by the octennial bill, became more intimately connected with the country; but however altered, depurated, and naturalized, this borough system was an evil still; in 1613 it was court ascendancy — it was corruption; in 1800 it may be union. We follow the work. It affirms, that the rivals of Mr. Flood had agreed, in 1782, to support a draft of a clandestine bill, or treaty, for imperial legislation, which the pamphlet describes, and adds, that they sacrificed to flimsy and corrupt popularity the peace of ages, &c. &c. Here are two assertions, which I do affirm publicly, and in the most unqualified manner, contain not one syllable, or tittle, or shadow of fact; the two assertions are wholly and most absolutely destitute of truth. The author of the pamphlet is called upon to support and to defend them; he has access to the Duke of Portland, to many of the cabinet of 1782, in both countries, and to the official and the unofficial agents of that time.

We have seen with what regard for truth the pamphlet asserts, we will now see with what justice it reasons, and certainly its falter in fact must prejudice its authority in logic. It denies the settlement of 1782 to have been final: the words of the settlement are as follows: "His Majesty recommends it to take into consideration the discontents and jealousies prevailing in Ireland, in order to come to such a *final* adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms." — See his message to the respective Parliaments. Parliament declares, "that no body of men whatever has any right to make laws for Ireland, save only the King, Lords, and Commons thereof, that this is the birth-right of the people, in which the essence of their liberty exists, and which we cannot surrender but with our lives." — See address of the Irish Commons, 16th of April. "His Majesty has recommended the subject to his Parliaments of both kingdoms, trusting that their wisdom will recommend measures as may terminate in a *final* adjustment. — See his Majesty's answer. "The British legislature has concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of your discontents and jealousies: the intention of the King, and willingness of the British Parliament come unaccompanied with *any stipulation or condition whatever*." — See the Duke of Portland's speech 27th May. "We conceive the resolution for an unqualified, unconditional repeal of the 6th of George I. to be a measure of justice and wisdom, worthy of the British Parliament, and furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity; gratified in these particulars, *no constitutional question will exist* between the two countries to interrupt their harmony." — See Irish Commons' answer, 27th May. "We rejoice that the name of Portland will be handed down as blended with a *full* and *perfect* establishment of the constitution of Ireland." — See Commons' address to his Excellency same day. "His Majesty assures his Commons of his affectionate acceptance of their acknowledgments of his Majesty's and the British Parliament's attention to their representation, and which they so justly consider as furnishing a *perpetual* pledge of mutual amity. The declaration that *no constitutional question* between the two nations will any longer exist that can interrupt their harmony, are very pleasing to him." — See the King's answer to Irish address of 27th May. "We have seen this great national arrangement established on a basis which secures the tranquillity of Ireland, and unites the affections as well as the interests of both kingdoms." — See Commons' address at the close of the session of 1782. "Convince the people of your several counties that the two kingdoms are now inseparably one, indissolubly connected in unity of constitution and unity of interest; that every just cause of jealousy is removed; *that the two nations have pledged their faith, and their best security will be an adherence to that compact*." — See the second speech of the Lord Lieutenant at the close of the session and the adjustment.

Here is the record; the pamphlet proposes to do away the force of record by the force of intrigue, and to set up a private correspondence of the then Lord Lieutenant against a public act. It produces an intrigue carried on with a view to clog the settlement, as sufficient not to condition or interpret, but to overhaul and overset it. It does not make the covenant conclusive on the insincerity of the Viceroy, but the insincerity of the Viceroy conclusive against the covenant, as if it were possible to construe away the obligation of a deed of trust by a private protest of the trustee, or as if treaties between two nations were to be set aside by the private letter of the envoy. It goes further, it gives the private intrigue an extent which the intrigue itself never affected; it makes the correspondence, containing a wish pending the adjustment and before its conclusion, to condition the Irish claim of right, tantamount to a public protest purporting to render it final in nothing. The pamphlet states, "That all the parties looked on the adjustment of 1782 as leading to a future political treaty."

The author is ignorant of the sentiments of the parties, as well as of the nature of the treaty. Thus Mr. Fox's sentiments the pamphlet has misrepresented; he (Mr. Fox) has declared, that he wished to make the best terms he could for Great Britain; but, as Ireland would not condition her independence, he gave up the second proposition. It has mis-stated the sentiments of General Fitzpatrick; *he* declares that he was totally ignorant of the dispatch of the Duke of Portland, and that he had, at the very time, assured the Irish Parliament, in the name of the government, which he then represented, that no farther measure was intended. He has mis-stated Mr. Grattan's sentiments, who publicly declares, that every part of the assertion, as far as relates to him, is totally unfounded, without a shadow of colour or pretence; and calls on the author to support his assertions. But I think I could quote *another* authority against this pamphlet; it is another pamphlet in the name of the same author, published in 1798; which charges the people of Ireland, and the Opposition, with a breach of faith in agitating certain political and commercial questions, after the kingdom had come to a final settlement with England, "a settlement so complete and satisfactory as to render a revival of political or constitutional controversies utterly impossible."

That pamphlet accordingly quotes the address of 1782, declaring, that all constitutional questions between the two countries should cease; and it extends the word *constitutional* to mean all *commercial* questions; and it extends the words *between the two nations* to mean questions *between the administration and the country.* This interpretation, by the pamphlet of 1798, was as extravagant as the *opposite* interpretation by the pamphlet of 1800, in the name of the same author. The author is *there* made to differ from Mr. Pitt, and to say, that the adjustment went to every thing; the author is *here* made to differ from himself, which is much less surprising, and to say that the adjustment extended to nothing. But here I must observe, that it is the argument only that is inconsistent, the sentiment is perfectly uniform; it advanced covenant against national redress, and it now advances the will of the minister against covenant. Thus has this pamphlet, on the subject of a national treaty, expatiated with extraordinary vehemence and confidence, without knowing its purport, without knowing who were the parties, without knowing who should be the parties, without knowing what were the sentiments of the parties; in direct contradiction to the sentiments of the principal agents, and to the spoken, written, and printed opinion of the alleged author of the publication.

We follow the work: having denied a covenant which did exist, it fabricates a covenant which never had any existence whatsoever; it asserts, p. 47., that an alliance, offensive and defensive, was formed by certain parties, in both countries, to play the independence of Ireland against their antagonists. 2dly, It affirms the principal object of that alliance to be, to guard against any settlement which might cut off the sources of jealousy and discontent between the two nations. I do aver, in the most solemn, public, and unqualified manner, that there is not the least foundation, colour, or pretence for either of those assertions; and it is with great pain I feel myself forced to declare, that they are absolutely and wholly destitute of any foundation, in fact or in truth. I refer to these facts.

Immediately after the settlement of 1782, the English part of this pretended alliance went into opposition; the Irish part of this pretended alliance, till 1785, supported the government, and some of them, for years after; the English part of this pretended alliance opposed the French treaty; the Irish part supported it; some of the English part of this pretended alliance opposed the war, the Irish part supported it. Here then is a public proof of the falsehood of the first position. We are furnished with further means of falsifying the second.

The original propositions that passed the Irish Parliament in 1785 were that very settlement which the pamphlet describes; that is, a settlement purporting to cut off the sources of any remaining discontents and jealousies between the two nations, and they had our warmest support. So that the pamphlet has been so indiscreet and ill advised as to advance and affirm two criminal charges positively and publicly, having, within the reach of its author's knowledge, certain facts, proving the falsehood of those very charges, at the very time that he so injudiciously advanced them.

The author is called upon to support them; he must have access to the Duke of Portland, to Mr. Pelham, and to many of those who must have been parties in this pretended alliance. They are not our friends, they are his.

The work proceeds to state, but not to state fairly or fully, the propositions; and I cannot but again observe, that these frequent mistakes in fact must create a prejudice against its logic. The best way of answering misrepresentation is by reciting the fact. The original ten propositions were formed with the consent of the British cabinet; they were the work, (at least the first nine,) as I understand, of a gentleman of this country, and they showed, in their ability and their compass, the hand of a master. A tenth was added, which stipulated for revenue to be given by this country to Great Britain; that tenth was altered in the cabinet in Ireland and divided into two resolutions, the first declaring, that no Irish revenue should be given to England until all Irish charges were previously satisfied; the second, that the Irish revenue should be raised to the Irish expences. The Irish ministry took the new revenue, and the English Parliament altered the original proposition. Pending these alterations, some members of our House spoke on the subject, and pledged themselves that they should, on the return of the propositions, give them opposition, in case they should be altered, even in an iota. I recollect Mr. Foster speaking to that point, he did not so pledge himself; but I perfectly recollect, that the then Attorney-General did: the pamphlet has given reasons for the inconstancy of his sentiments, give me leave to justify the uniformity of mine. The bill, founded on the altered propositions, departed from the original ones in the following particulars; it stipulated for a perpetual revenue-bill; it stipulated, in certain leading and essential matters, for a covenant of referential legislation; it included, in that covenant, four articles of American commerce; it stipulated for the reduction of our duties of protection on cotton among others, and it gave us nothing in substance but the re-export trade, which we have gotten without it. To the public it is sufficient to say so much, to the pamphlet it is unnecessary to say any thing; but when that pamphlet calls opposition to those altered propositions a breach with England, and a sacrifice of the common interest on the altar of faction, the author should be reminded, that the person whose name it assumes had pledged himself to oppose those altered propositions; that is, according to the pamphlet, to cause that breach with England, and to make that sacrifice on the altar of faction; and also, that a great part of the present cabinet of England did actually execute what the pamphlet calls a breach with England, and sacrificed the common interest on the altar of faction, — Lord Auckland, the Duke of Portland, and most of his connections. But we stand in need of no authorities; did we, I should quote Mr. Denis Daly, the then muster-master, who declared he could not support the altered propositions. The truth is, the opposition to the bill which comprehended them was no breach with

England; however there might, indeed, mix in the debate an offensive disposition to contrast the two nations; but we must always distinguish between the nature of the question itself and the craft of the expectant flattering the court of England, by reviling his own country for his private advantage.

We follow the pamphlet to the regency, and here its charge against the country is not her conduct but her power. The pamphlet reprobates the right of Ireland to choose a regent; now, she is not responsible for the right, but the exercise of it, and we have shown that she exercised that right for the preservation of the monarchy and the connection. The pamphlet states the power of choice to be tantamount to a power of separation. But who gave that power? It was the law. And who displayed that power? The minister. It was he who stated, that the two Houses of Parliament, in case of regal incapacity, could supply the deficiency exactly as they thought proper, when a servant of government here maintained that the Houses of the British Parliament could do more, and could provide for the deficiency in Ireland as well as in England, that is to say, could republicanize both countries. He did not make our situation better, nor give any great security to the monarchy or the constitution.

The pamphlet asserts, that if the proceedings of our Parliament could have any effect, we were separated for some weeks from England. Now, if we were separated for an hour, it was not by the proceedings of Parliament, that is to say, by the address to the Prince, which never had effect, but by the indisposition of his Majesty, which had effect, and which alone had effect to suspend the royal function, and, of course, the only connecting power of the two countries.

The pamphlet, having confounded the proceedings of Parliament with causes which Parliament found but did not produce, proceeds to a gross misrepresentation of concomitant circumstances. It charges on the Parliament the crime of expedition, but it does not state the cause of it. One cause was, the sedition of the Irish minister. That ministry apprehended dismissal, and were forming an opposition. The then representative of Majesty in Ireland was supposed to be employed at that time in canvassing for a party against the future government, with the King's commission in his pocket. Thus his Royal Highness would have been a regent in chains, with a court in mutiny.

The pamphlet charges the Commons at that time with disrespect to the King, marked by the limitation of the supply. The fact is true, but it is not true as the pamphlet states it; the Commons abridged the grant of the supply because the King's minister in Ireland could not be trusted, and he could not be trusted for the following reasons: Because he had declared he would make certain members of Parliament victims of their votes; because he had censured the Parliament, and the Parliament had censured him; and, because one of his servants had pronounced in Parliament the necessity of resorting to the rankest corruption. It was for these reasons that Parliament did not think proper to trust either with the revenues of the country.

The pamphlet asserts, that the Irish Parliament proceeded without a tittle of evidence; it is not the fact. The pamphlet, indeed, acknowledges that its own charge is not true, by making another, namely, that the House of Commons did not attend to the evidence. Here it is as deficient in candour as before in fact. The case was, that the report of the physician, regarding the state of his Majesty's health, had appeared before in every paper; it was a subject too interesting and too melancholy not to be perfectly known, and was read in the House *pro forma*. On this part of the subject the pamphlet is, in an eminent degree, indecorous and licentious, when it speaks of the House of Commons; nor is it less so when it speaks of the persons concerned in the proceedings of that time, as of a set of men who had accomplished a breach between Great Britain and Ireland, and had committed (I think the words of the charge are) *enormities*. The persons guilty of those enormities were some of the present servants of the crown, a majority of two Houses of Parliament, several bishops, a great part of the present cabinet of England, the Duke of Portland and his party, Lord Spencer, who was to have been Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Pelham, who was to have been his secretary: were it not presumptuous, I might ascend much higher.

An alliance to play against England the independency of Ireland, whose basis was to prevent measures of concord; a breach made between the two countries in 1785, and now their enormities in the address on the regency, are charges against the Duke of Portland's party very unfounded and very puerile, but made with great boldness by the author, who seems to enjoy a genius for crimination, which, in its extent and extravagance, becomes harmless. The pamphlet charges on that period much indecorum. I do lament it. "You have set up a little king of your own," said a principal servant of the Crown, speaking to the House of Commons, and talking of his prince with the vulgar familiarity with which a pert barrister would salute his fellow. "Half a million, or more, was expended some years ago, to break an opposition, the same, or a greater sum, may be necessary now;" so said the principal servant of the Crown. The House heard him; I heard him; he said it, standing on his legs, to an astonished House, and an indignant nation, and he said so in the most extensive sense of bribery and corruption. The threat was proceeded on, the peerage was sold, the caitiffs of corruption were every where; in the lobby, in the street, on the steps, and at the door of every parliamentary leader, whose thresholds were worn by the members of the then administration, offering titles to some, amnesty to others, and corruption to all. Hence arose the discontents of which the pamphlet complains, against such proceedings, and the profligate avowal of such proceedings, against the consequences that followed, they were many and bloody; we did then, and we beg now, to enter once more our solemn protest.

Could that nation, who had refused to obey the legislative power of the British Parliament, who had armed for her defence and her freedom, who had recovered her trade, reinstated her constitution, and acquired a great, and, it shall not be my fault if it be not, an immortal name; could they who had taken a part for that nation, in all her glorious acquisitions; could the nation, or such men, could both forget themselves, and support a rank instrument of power, and become its little comrade and its copander in its dirty doings, in the sale of the peerage, its conspiracies against Parliament, and its vile and vulgar abuse of the people.

A pamphlet of 1798, published in the name of the same author, is pleased to mention, that the experiment of conciliation had been fully and abundantly tried; and it particularly instances the acknowledgment of our parliamentary constitution. It was an experiment, magnanimous on the part of Great Britain, and her then minister, and we ought to take this public opportunity of making acknowledgments to both; but we must lament that their noble purposes were counteracted, and their wise experiment betrayed by a calamitous ascendancy in the Irish cabinet, from 1789, of the above councils, at once servile and insolent, who had opposed the establishment of the Irish constitution; and scarce were they placed in power when they planned its overthrow, set up a counter experiment, or conspiracy, to undo what England thought she had recognized, and Ireland thought she had secured; that very parliamentary constitution, our bond of connection and pledge of peace, and took two methods to accomplish their crime, both of which they proclaimed with much public immodesty, but without danger; a project to pack a Parliament and a project to abolish it.

We follow the work: it complains of the Whig club; the minister was the author of it; his doctrine, and his half million, were the authors of it. But clubs of this kind are only preserved by violence; that violence did happen; an attack was made on the rights of the city; a doctrine was promulgated by the same person, that the common council had no right to put a negative on the lord mayor, chosen by the board of aldermen, except the board itself should assent to the negative put on its own choice. This doctrine was advanced by the court, to secure the election of the mayor to itself. In the course of the contest a minister involved himself in a personal altercation with the citizens: with Mr. Tandy he had carried on a long war, and with various success; he was now involved in an altercation more general, in the compass of his wrath and his scurrility; he paid his compliments to the Whig club, and that club advanced the shield of a free people over the rights of the city, and humbled a little minister in the presence of those citizens whose privileges he had invaded, and whose persons he had calumniated. The pamphlet charges the club with a crime on account of a publication on the subject of the poor, pending a probable invasion, — idle charge. At this time of a probable invasion, is a society formed for the very purpose of investigating their condition with some of the officers of state, and several clergy at its head. At such a time did some of the English clergy publish treatises, proving that the peasantry could not live by their labour. Did the author read a very learned pamphlet in favour of the union, published by Mr. Douglass, at a time of apprehended invasion, recommending union as the best means of relieving the lower order from the oppression of the rich? And then he quotes Adam Smith. Did the author read Mr. Pitt's pamphlet, published pending an apprehended invasion, and condoling with the peasantry of Ireland, on the great *practical grievance* of tythes? But to have done with such trifling, we follow the work to its charge against the propounders of the reform plan of 1797; the work sets forth two plans, that of those gentlemen, and that of the united Irishmen: they differ in the following essentials: — The plan of the former left the counties as they are, the former did not propose to annualize Parliament; the former rejected the idea of personal representation; the former did not propose to abolish the oath taken by the elector. What then did the former do? It destroyed boroughs, and it proposed to supply their place by the present freemen and freeholders, that is, by those whom the law calls the Commons; it created no new constituency, but it did what every plan of reform professes to emulate; it gave representation to the constituency, that is, to the Commons in the place of the monopolist. When I say it made no new constituency, I beg to make an exception, it introduced in the place of the potwalloper, as he is termed, substantial leaseholders and substantial householders, that is, it gave property more weight, and population, distinct from property, less weight. On the whole, it took away the monopolist and the potwalloping rabble, and communicated the representation of the kingdom to the proprietors thereof, as constituted its electors by law, or as entitled to become such by a property greater than the law had required.

The effect of this plan had been to prevent an union. If we are to advert to the evidence of the prisoner examined by the Houses of Parliament, it had been to prevent a rebellion, and to break off a French connection. When the pamphlet sets forth, that Mr. O'Connor, &c.* approved of this plan, it should have stated the whole truth, or have stated nothing; it has done neither. It has suppressed their declaration, which was that, had that plan taken place, they would have broken off their connection with France.

Neither the history of that reform, nor the history of any public measure, does the writer set forth. A plan of reform had been proposed in 1793, and debated in 1794. It was objected, first, that the plan did not give satisfaction; in that the most vehement partizans of parliamentary reform had signified their disapprobation; secondly, that the plan opened the way to another plan, or to the project of personal representation. It became highly expedient, before any other plan was submitted to the consideration of Parliament, to be able to assure that august body, that such plan would give general satisfaction, and put an end to the project of personal representation. The persons concerned in the forming that plan did accordingly obtain from the north of Ireland, and, moreover, from the advocates of personal representation, authority to declare in Parliament, that if the plan of 1797 should pass, they would rest satisfied. If a further answer to the author be necessary, it is his own avowal of his own principle, viz. that no Irish representation at all is necessary, and that he should be satisfied to be governed by the English Parliament, without a single representative. With such a person I shall no further discuss the subject of representation. He is, in his own person, an argument for reform. What! the man of the half million!

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* The author is pleased to term Mr. O'Connor our *unreserved* friend. In his manifesto, showed to the Irish government for permission to publish, Mr. O'Connor sets forth, that, save only on the question of reform, he had no communication with us of any kind whatever; that manifesto must have been read by the author of the pamphlet, who thus makes another charge he should have known to be groundless, and which he is now called on to maintain. We do not call for legal evidence; but if the author has any evidence at all, such as would convince an honest man of the truth of any of those charges, or justify an honest man in making them, he is called upon and requested to produce that evidence.

We follow the work to the Catholic question. It is pleased to quote me as follows: "Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war, your physical consequence exists in a state of *separation from England*, &c." I am extremely sorry to be obliged to declare again what I have been compelled to do so often; that this paragraph, published as mine by the author of the pamphlet, is not misinterpretation, not misrepresentation, but *palpable fabrication*. I never said, nor published, that the physical consequence of any part of his Majesty's subjects existed in a state of separation from England, nor any thing that would warrant that interpretation; but I did say the reverse; that as our domestic security consisted in concord with another, so our security, against an invader from abroad, depended on our connection with Great Britain. On this expression, then, boldly attributed to me, but which I never delivered, the author founds two charges, as destitute of truth as the foundation on which they rest; a charge of revolution and jacobinism. The author, in a production sanctioned by his name, in one of the public papers, is made to say that a certain party had resorted to the Catholic bill as a new subject of discontent, after the place and pension bill had been conceded. Here again I am forced to lament the necessity of declaring, that this assertion also is totally and absolutely destitute of foundation; and I will prove its departure from the fact by the proceedings of Parliament. The first Catholic bill after that of 1782 was passed in 1792; the second was early in the session of 1793; and the place and pension bill did not pass till the close of it, so that the *refutation* of the charge appears on the rolls of Parliament. As to the last Catholic bill, they to whom he alludes did not resort to it as a new subject of discontent to annoy the government, being at that time themselves the administration; it follows, there is an arithmetic and moral impossibility of the truth of this charge of the author. I beg indulgence, in addition, to state a few facts. The Catholics were not excited to come forward by an opposition; they were induced to come forward by Mr. Mitford's bill in 1791. They came at the latter end of the session of that year to some of our party, myself among others, to know whether we should not advise them to petition Parliament for further indulgences. My answer was, I am your friend, but go to the secretary and consult him; do not narrow your cause to the fate of an opposition and a minority. I give this advice as a friend to your body. In the winter of 1791 I was applied to by Mr. Richard Burke*, with a request to know my sentiments on the Catholic subject, which I did not disclose to him, declaring at the same time my good wishes to the Catholic body; and on the opening of the session in January 1792, I gave the Catholics a decided support. Forgetting this, the pamphlet quotes a declaration, " that the Catholics could not induce any one member of Parliament to patronize their petition. This declaration was published, December, 1792, and the author charges from thence, that, until the petition was recommended by ministers, we had been Catholic persecutors. That charge also is a departure from fact: I remember giving in support of the Catholic petition and claims a decided voice and vote in 1792.

In January, 1793, their claims came recommended from the throne, and, in supporting their bill so recommended, I observed, that, however I might think it were judicious to go farther, I did think the bill communicated most important rights. In the session of 1794, the Catholic subject was not mentioned; but in summer, on a change made in the British cabinet, being informed by some of the leading persons therein, that the administration of the Irish department was to belong to them, and that they had sent for us to adopt our measures, I stated the Catholic emancipation as one of them. Thus the charge, that we were originally persecutors of the Catholics appears to be a departure from the fact. Thus the charge, that we took up the Catholics after the passing of the place and pension bill, as Irish matter of opposition, appears likewise to be a departure from fact. The proofs are in the proceedings of Parliament.

The pamphlet of 1798, in the author's name, has said, that the experiment of conciliation was abundantly tried. Here is the second experiment, and here it is but just to acknowledge the wisdom of his Majesty, and the benignity of his intentions, when he was graciously pleased to recommend the Catholics in 1793, in his speech from the throne, so that this body, thus royally patronized, might be attached not only to the constitution, whose privileges they were to participate, but to the great personage also at whose special interposition they were thus parentally and majestically recommended. But as in the first experiment, the people of England, so in the second, was his Majesty betrayed by those infatuated, weak, and pernicious counsels, which had been, in 1789, the instruments of political corruption, and now became the horn of religious discord.

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* Son of the celebrated Edmund Burke.

I will give the learned author every advantage, and, contrary to my fixed and unalterable opinion, admit the policy of excluding the Catholics from the constitution; yet should I, nevertheless, condemn the hostile and outrageous manner in which that exclusion was defended. "If," says he, "the Catholics do not subvert the Protestant government, they must resist the ruling passions and propensities of the human mind; they can never be cordially affected to his Majesty's government. I am confident, the old Roman superstition is as rank in Ireland now as in 1741: the profound ignorance of the lower order, the general abhorrence of the Protestant religion by the people, qualify them to receive any impression their priests can make; and if their minds be divested of veneration for the priest, such is the ignorance and barbarity of the people, that they would fall into a state of rude nature: the Popish superstition is not confined to the lower order, it flourishes in full vigour amongst the higher order."

This was the language, improper because not founded in fact, and impolitic and indecent in any man, though the facts could support it; idle, empty, and shallow ranting. The best way to distinguish the indecorum of such a speech, is to advert to a speech made on the same side of the question, by a gentleman who said every thing that could be urged against their pretensions, without uttering a single syllable which could give offence to their persons, so that the Catholics might much more easily forgive the latter his vote than the former his speech; and, on a comparison of the two productions, you will see the eminent superiority of sense with temper over talents without it. There are two sides in this question which men of principle might take, for the measure or against it; but the ministry that took both parts, could be justified by neither. The fact was, that the ministry encouraged the Protestants, and forsook them afterward; they brought forward the grand juries, and deserted them also — then to the Catholics — then to the Protestants — then back again to the Catholic, and then to the Protestants once more. This was a great mistake, but there was a greater, and that was to be found in those speeches and publications from a quarter in high confidence, which vilified the acts of concession in the moment of conferring them; and, affecting to support the King's government, called the bill he had recommended *an act of insanity.* The incoherent plan was erroneous, but this was infatuation, it was the petulance of power, it was the insolence of wealth, it was the intoxication of a minister in a state of sudden and giddy elevation, breathing out on a great and ancient description of his Majesty's subjects the frenzy of his politics and the fury of his faith, with all the feminine anger of a feverish and distempered intellect. It went to deprive the Protestant ascendency of the advantage of temper, and of the graciousness of good manners, which should always belong to the powerful sect; it went to deprive the state of a certain comeliness of deportment and mild dignity which should always belong to government; it fought in the King's colours against the King's benevolence; it went to deprive his Majesty of the blessings of gratitude, and his people of the blessings of concord; it went to corrode where the crown had intended to heal, and it curdled with the temper of the minister, the manna that was descending from the throne.

The argument that accompanied this invective was of little moment; a man in a fury cannot argue; the weakness of his reasoning will be exactly in proportion to the strength of his passion.

Behold a melancholy example of the victory of human passion over the human understanding. The present danger of the papal power after the deposition of the Pope, the incompatability of the real presence and of the worship of the Virgin Mary, with the interest of the House of Hanover and and the incompetency of Parliament to alter the oaths of its own members, such are the author's arguments. However, if the pamphlet of 1798 denies the competence of Parliament, here comes the pamphlet of 1800 to console you, and as the one sets the law above the law-maker, so the other sets the law-maker above the constitution, and both together would prove that the legislature is incompetent to admit a Catholic, but is perfectly competent to destroy a Parliament.

We leave these arguments, and the vehement spirit with which they are poured forth, and come to the close of the pamphlet and the beginning of the subject — the Union. Of one hundred and one pages, twenty-six only are devoted to the question; the rest contain feelings, battles, and sores from a perpetual encounter with all descriptions of men, and with patriotism, in all ages. As the author scarcely argues the question of Union, or indeed affects it, here I shall say but little; however, two great points he would establish I beg to advert to. They contain positions which are not only glaringly unfounded, but exceedingly dangerous: the 1*st*, That this country is unable to pay her establishments; 2*d*, That her constitution is incompetent to provide for her security. He attempts to warrant his first, by a statement affecting to prove, that in three years, if she was to continue without an Union, we shall owe 50,000,000*l*. He states, that we borrow annually 8,000,000*l.*; he should have stated, that we borrow but 4,000,000*l.*; whatever capital we may create on each loan, he should have stated how much less we should borrow on the adoption of an Union. He should have stated, that the projectors of the Union only proffered the payment of 1,000,000*l.* of our war establishment; that the present year was provided for; that the saving in the two following years of war will be, according to this proffer, but 2,000,000*l.*, and the purchase of boroughs will be 1,500,000*l.* He should have stated further, that our war contribution was rated at 4,400,000*l.*, and that our present war expence was only 4,652,000*l.*, so that the proffer appears fallacious; and if we be unable to support our present war expence, we will be unable to support our war contribution; and the reader will observe, the present war expence is an occasional war establishment, principally caused by insurrection, whereas the war contribution will in all probability be a permanent war contribution, except as far as it may be augmented.* But there is an answer to his argument which is more decisive, it is his own argument in 1798, which is as follows: " First, as to the adequacy of the constitution for the purpose of security and connection, next for that of wealth and prosperity.

" A parliament, perfectly distinct from and independent of the other parliament, forms a system the most critical and complicated; to a common observer, utterly impracticable; but experience has proved, that in the midst of popular turbulence, and in the convulsion of rancorous and violent party contests, the Irish Parliament, as it is now constituted, is fully competent to all political and beneficial purposes of government; that it is fully competent to protect this, which is the weaker country, against encroachment, and to save the empire from dissolution, by maintaining the constitutional connection of Ireland with the British Crown." Here is the refutation of his second great argument published by himself. Hear him conquer himself in his pamphlet of 1798 — here (*page* 5) he writes as follows: " There is not a nation in the habitable globe which has advanced in cultivation and commerce, in agriculture and manufactures, with the same rapidity in the same period;" — speaking of Ireland since the constitution of 1782, viz. for the last twenty years.

Here we add nothing, but that the author has been, by his own account, recommending an Union for these eight years; he has been, according to his own account, betraying, for these eight years, the constitution in her councils, in the very moments of his panegyric.

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* *Vide* Lord Farnham's excellent pamphlet, and his judicious speech on the Union.

On this important discovery let others expatiate; to us it is more material to observe on his work, where it sets up our history against our constitution, and the annals of the Parliament against its legislative capacity. To establish this, he has thought it prudent to advert to four periods in which the greatest legislative questions were successfully discussed, and the greatest legislative abilities were triumphantly displayed.

This pamphlet quotes the period of 1753, and relates, that a question regarding a surplus in the treasury was then started, to try the strength of two factions; which, in its consequence, transmitted a spirit that afterwards degraded the Parliament; what, when, or where, this parliamentary degradation appeared, we are at a loss to discover; this is not history, nor comment, nor fact, but it is a garbling of history to establish a conclusion the opposite of that which the history itself would administer; the principle then determined, the importance of that principle, the abilities displayed on the discussion of it, the real effect of both on the public mind, have escaped the pen of the historian; from that pen you would collect, that Mr. Malone and Mr. Pery were nothing more than two prize-fighters, embattled in the cause of faction, under two great state criminals, the Primate and Lord Shannon; that they agitated a matter of no moment; but that they propagated sedition of great moment and fatal consequences to the next generation.

Having thus disposed of the Parliament, and the characters of fifty-three (without the vexation of any study, or sordid obligation to fact,) the pamphlet proceeds to dispose of the character of the House of Commons and the principal gentlemen of the country for fifteen years after. It had before represented them as incendiaries, it here represents them as plunderers; it sets forth, that, under the pretext of public imimprovement, the Commons plundered the country; and that their Parliament, to pay their parliamentary following, plundered the treasury, until they imposed on the Crown the necessity of resorting for supply to Parliament; which the author most pathetically bemoans, and which he seems to think the only great grievance of the country.

Having given this history of Parliament, from 1753 to 1768, it advances to the administration of Lord Townshend, in which it seems to recollect nothing but the noise of opposition.

The pamphlet of 1798, in the name of the author, had observed, that from the revolution of 1782, the system adopted by those in whom the power resided (they were those, among others, whom he had just been pleased to reprobate as incendiaries and plunderers,) went to cement the connection which had so long subsisted between Great Britain and Ireland, to their mutual advantage; the pamphlet of 1800 is pleased to observe, that the precedent of their government was fatal; and that a system was formed on it that would beat down any nation on earth; accordingly it states, that the English government opened their eyes, shook, indeed, the aristocracy, but generated a race of political adventurers, full of noise and indecorum. I think I have heard spruce authority as petulent and indecorous as young ambition.

The attempts of the court to pack a Parliament at that period, the increase of the establishment for that purpose, the great abilities displayed, the altered money bill, protests, prorogation, in short, the history of the period, once more escape this historian. The learned author now approaches the year 1779; the expedition of his march is very great, and very liberally does he leave untouched every thing behind him; he is arrived; and here he scarcely is stricken with any thing worthy of his history, save only the weakness of Lord Buckinghamshire in arraying the volunteers, and the illiberality of the nation in demanding a free trade; the pamphlet commends the volunteers of that period; and yet I think I remember a young barrister going forth in his cockboat, and scolding the waves of that ocean, and the waves regarded him not.* Certainly the volunteers did take a most decisive part in the political and commercial question of that day. Well, he has done with the year 1779; whatever he had to say on the great questions then discussed, and on that most pregnant period, in a few lines he has said it; history is nothing in his hands; in his account of the Parliament of Ireland for thirty years, the learned author has five ideas, and those are all false; faction in 1753; plunder till 1768; then noise of opposition; then the weakness of government; then the ungenerous proceedings of Parliament; and as he before condemned your efforts to recover your trade with oblique censure, so now he condemns your efforts to recover your constitution with direct animadversion; he calls the settlement of 1782 the separation of a colony from Great Britain; bold adulation of England this; the alleged author of the pamphlet was in Parliament the 16th of April 1782;

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* Alluding to Mr. Fitzgibbon's speech in 1780, when he termed the proceedings of the volunteers, "riot, clamour, and the production of a giddy action."

he made no objection to this separation; he was in Parliament the 27th of May 1782; he made no objection to the separation; he wrote me a letter of congratulation at that time on the success of that settlement, he did not there mention this separation. Reading this publication now, and in the society of the two other pamphlets of the same name, every Irishman feels himself less a gentleman and more a slave. The pamphlet, in its oblique censure, and in its direct animadversion, disparages every great act, and every distinguished character in this country, for the last fifty years.

Mr. Malone, Lord Pery, late Lord Shannon, Duke of Leinster, the Mr. Ponsonbys, Mr. Brownlow, Sir William Osborne, Mr. Burgh, Mr. Daly, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Ogle, Mr. Flood, Mr. Forbes, Lord Charlemont, and myself. I follow the author through the graves of these honourable dead men, for most of them are so; and I beg to raise up their tomb-stones, as he throws them down. I feel it more instructive to converse with their ashes, than with his compositions.

Mr. Malone, one of the characters of 1753, was a man of the finest intellect that any country ever produced. "The three ablest men I have ever heard, were Mr. Pitt, (the father) Mr. Murray, and Mr. Malone; for a popular assembly I would choose Mr. Pitt; for a Privy Council, Murray; for twelve wise men, Malone." This was the opinion which Lord Sackville, the secretary of 1753, gave, of Mr. Malone to a gentleman from whom I heard it. "He is a great sea in a calm," said Mr. Gerrard Hamilton, another great judge of men and talents; "aye," it was replied, "but had you seen him when he was young, you would have said he was a great sea in a storm." And, like the sea, whether in calm or storm, he was a great production of nature.

Lord Pery, he is not yet canonized by death; but he, like the rest, has been canonized by slander. He was more or less a party in all those measures which the pamphlet condemns; and, indeed, in every great statute and measure that took place in Ireland the last fifty years; a man of the most legislative capacity I ever knew, and the most comprehensive reach of understanding I ever saw; with a deep engraven impression of public care, accompanied by a temper which was tranquillity itself, and a personal firmness that was adamant; in his train, is every private virtue that can adorn human nature.

Mr. Brownlow, Sir William Osborne, I wish we had more of these criminals; the former seconded the address of 1782; and in the latter, and in both, there was a station of mind that would have become the proudest senate in Europe.

Mr. Flood, my rival, as the pamphlet calls him, and I should be unworthy the character of his rival, if in his grave I did not do him justice, he had faults; but he had great powers, great public effect; he persuaded the old, he inspired the young; the castle vanished before him; on a small subject he was miserable; put into his hand a distaff, and, like Hercules, he made sad work of it; but give him the thunderbolt, and he had the arm of a Jupiter; he misjudged when he transferred himself to the English Parliament; he forgot that he was a tree of the forest, too old, and too great to be transplanted at fifty; and his seat in the British Parliament is a caution to the friends of union to stay at home, and make the country of their birth the seat of their action.

Mr. Burgh, another great person in those scenes, which it is not in the little quill of this author to depress. He was a man singularly gifted, with great talent, great variety, wit, oratory, and logic; he, too, had weakness; but he had the pride of genius also, and strove to raise his country along with himself, and never sought to build his elevation on the degradation of Ireland.

I moved an amendment for a free export; he moved a better amendment, and he lost his place. I moved a declaration of right; "with my last breath will I support the right of the Irish Parliament," was his letter to me, when I applied to him for his support. He lost the chance of recovering his place, and his way to the seals, for which he might have bartered. The gates of promotion were shut on him, as those of glory opened.

Mr. Daly, my beloved friend; he, in a great measure, drew the address of 1779, in favour of our trade, — that "ungracious measure;" and he saw, read, and approved of the address of 1782, in favour of constitution; that address of "separation." He visited me in my illness, at that moment, and I had communication on those subjects, with that man, whose powers of oratory were next to perfection; and whose powers of understanding, I might say, from what has lately happened, bordered on the spirit of prophecy.*

Mr. Forbes, a name I shall ever regard, and a death I shall ever deplore; enlightened, sensible, laborious, and useful; proud in poverty, and patriotic, he preferred exile to apostacy, and met his death. I speak of the dead, I say nothing of the living; but I attribute to this constellation of men, in a great measure, the privileges of your country; and I attribute such a generation of men to the residence of your Parliament.

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* This alludes to a private anecdote of Lord Clare and Mr. Daly, respecting the conduct likely to be pursued by the former in case a Union was proposed.

The ministers of the Crown, who, in the times related by the pamphlet, did the King's business, were respectable and able men; they supported sometimes acts of power, but they never, by any shocking declaration, outraged the constitution; they adjusted themselves to the idea of liberty, even when they might have offended against the principle, and always kept on terms of decency with the people and their privileges. Least of all, did they indulge in a termagant vulgarity, debasing, to a plebeian level, courts and senates, and courting Irish infamy on a speculation of British promotion.

In the list of injured characters I beg leave to say a few words for the good and gracious Earl of Charlemont; an attack, not only on his measures, but on his representative, makes his vindication seasonable. Formed to unite aristocracy and the people, with the manners of a court and the principles of a patriot, with the flame of liberty, and the love of order; unassailable to the approaches of power, of profit, or of titles, he annexed to the love of freedom, a veneration for order; and cast on the crowd that followed him, the gracious light of his own accomplishments; so that the very rabble grew civilized as it approached his person. For years did he preside over a great army, without pay or reward; and he helped to accomplish a great revolution without a drop of blood.

Let slaves utter their slander, and bark at glory which is conferred by the people; his name will stand. And when their clay shall be gathered to the dirt to which they belong, his monument, whether in marble, or in the hearts of his countrymen, shall be resorted to as a subject of sorrow, and an excitation to virtue.

Should the author of the pamphlet pray, he could not ask for his son a greater blessing than to resemble the good Earl of Charlemont; nor could that son repay that blessing by any act of gratitude more filial, than by committing to the flames his father's publications.

I have attempted to vindicate the dead, let us now vindicate the Parliament. The question of 1753 was the beginning, in this country, of that constitutional spirit which asserted afterwards the privilege of the Commons, and guarded and husbanded the essential right of a free constitution. The question was of its very essence; but the effect spread beyond the question, and the ability of the debate instructed the nation, and made her not only tenacious of her rights, but proud of her understanding. There might have been party, — there might have been faction, mixing with a great public principle; so it was in the time of ship money; so it was in the Revolution. In these instances the private motive mixed with the public cause; but still it was the cause of the public and the cause of liberty. In great moral operations, as well as in the great operations of nature, there is always a degree of waste and overflow; so it is with the sea. Shall we therefore pronounce the ocean a nuisance? Thus, afterward, in the time which the pamphlet describes as the period of plunder, there was a spirit of private jobbing, mixing with the spirit of public improvement; but that spirit of public improvement, and the commencement and birth of public care, was there also, and so continued, from the time of the sagacious Lord Pery, to the period of Mr. Foster and his wise regulations.

In the history of Parliament, I observe the learned historian omits her laws; the corn law, the octennial bill, the tenantry bill; he has not only forgotten *our* history but *his own*, and most impartially contradicts what is written by himself as well as others. " No nation in the habitable globe, in cultivation, in commerce, in agriculture, in manufacture, has advanced in the same rapidity within the same period," says the pamphlet of 1798, in the name of our author (page 5); " a settlement so complete and satisfactory, as to render the revival of political or constitutional questions utterly impossible," so said the same pamphlet, (page 9), speaking of the settlement of 1782; " a Parliament, (speaking of the Irish Parliament), fully competent to all practical and beneficial purposes of government, fully competent to preserve this country, which is the weaker, against encroachment, and to save the empire from dissolution, by maintaining the constitutional connection with Great Britain," so said the same pamphlet, speaking of the constitution of 1782. Thus have these different works furnished their own answers, and, like opposite poison, administered their cure and their contradiction. In procuring that constitution and that trade, the Irish Parliament had great merit, — the servants of the crown had great merit, — the author had none.

As the author has censured the proceedings of both, let me be their vindicator. Those servants of the Crown proved themselves to be Irishmen, and scorned to barter their honour for their office; that Parliament, whose conduct the pamphlet reprobates, had seen the country, by restrictions on commerce, and by an illegal embargo on her provision trade, brought, in 1779, to a state of bankruptcy; that Parliament had reposed in the liberality of the British Parliament an inexorable confidence; that Parliament waited and waited, till she found, after the English session of 1778, nothing could be expected; and then, that Parliament (and here behold the recuperative principles of our constitution, and contemplate Parliament, as the true source of legitimate hope, though sometimes the just object of public disapprobation), that Parliament at length preferred a demand; I say a demand, for a free trade, and expressed in a sentence, the grievances of a country. They shorten the money bill, assert the spirit of the country, and, supported as they were by the whole nation, break, in one hour, that chain which had blocked up your harbours for ages. They follow this by a support of government and of empire, as ample as was their support of their country and her commerce, bold and irresistible, and do more to deter and intimidate the common enemy, than all your present loans, and all your establishments.

I come to the second period; and here they fall back; here they act reluctantly; but here you see again the rallying principle of our constitution; that very Parliament, whom the pamphlet vilifies, whom the minister thought he had at his feet, those very gentlemen whom the pamphlet disparages, whom the then secretary relied on as a rank majority, made a common cause with the people, (made a common cause with their liberties;) and, assisted and backed by the voice of that people, preserved, carried, and established the claim, inheritance, and liberties of the realm, and sent the secretary, post, to England, to recant his political errors in his own country, and to register that recantation in the rolls of his own Parliament. These achievements we are to estimate, not by the difficulties of the day, but by the difficulties resulting from the depression and degradation of ages. If we consider, that the people and Parliament, who had thus associated for the defence of the realm, and had added to the objects of their association, the cause of trade and liberty, without which that realm did not deserve to be defended; had been, in a great measure, excluded from all the rest of the world, had been depressed for one hundred years, (by commercial and political oppression, and torn by religious divisions); that their ministers had not seldom applied themselves to taint the integrity of the higher order, and very seldom (except as far as they concurred in the bounties of the legislature), applied themselves to relieve the condition of the lower order; that such a people, and such a Parliament, should spontaneously associate, unite, arm, array, defend, illustrate, and free their country; overawe bigotry, suppress riot, prevent invasion, and produce, as the offspring of their own head, armed cap-a-pee, like the Goddess of Wisdom issuing from the Thunderer, *Commerce* and *Constitution.* What shall we say of such a people, and such a Parliament? Let the author of the pamphlet retire to his closet, and ask pardon of his God for what he has written against his country!

I state these things, because these things have been called clamour; I state these facts, in opposition to slander, as the defence of my country; to restore from calumny the character of her constitution; and to rescue from oblivion the decaying evidences of her glory.

I think I know my country; I think I have a right to know her; she has her weaknesses; were she perfect, one would admire her more, but love her less. The gentlemen of Ireland act on sudden impulse; but that impulse is the result of a warm heart, a strong head, and great personal determination; the errors incidental to such a principle of action, must be their errors; but then, the virtues belonging to that principle must be their virtues also; such errors may give a pretence to their enemies, but such virtues afford salvation to their country; the minister should therefore say what I say to my country; I, who am no better than one of yourselves, but far superior to your tyrants, I who probably partake of your defects, and shall be satisfied if I have any portion either of your spirit or of your fire, "Come, come to this heart, with all your infirmities and all your religion."

We return to the publication: we look for something to build or plant in the immense waste, the huge moral devastation this writing has left of the talents, ability, and credit of the country. Three pamphlets of this author lie open before me, a publication of 1793, another of 1798, and the present of 1800, all in the same name. Here we are to look, I suppose, for whatever is by him suffered to remain unlevelled of profound wisdom, liberal policy, comprehensive system; the true principle of government and of a free constitution; leaf after leaf, and period after period, have I turned them over; the author will show in what part of these poor things those great maxims are to be discovered; to mere mortal eyes these publications seem to be a system of political, moral, and and intellectual levelling; scurrilous in themselves, they betray a native genuine horror of any thing like genius, liberty, or the people; great audacity of assertion; great thrift of argument; a turn to be offensive, without a power to be severe; fury in the temper, and famine in the phrase.

I find, and lament to find, in those levelling publications the following sentiments: That Ireland is a British colony, and that to demand a free constitution, was to separate from Britain; that Ireland may prudently submit to legislation without representation; that Ireland had no parliamentary constitution till the time of James I.; that the creation of the dependency of the crown for supply on the Commons, was a pernicious precedent; that the remedy for our present free constitution, and the only security for the connection, was to put in the place of the British Parliament the commanding influence of the British cabinet over the Irish legislature. Couple this with a declaration, that half a million had been resorted to some years back to buy the Commons of Ireland; couple that with the declarations continued in this pamphlet, that, for the last seven years, a noble minister of the Crown had perseveringly recommended the abolition of the Irish Parliament, and an union in its place; couple all this together, and the result of the pamphlet will be the most complete and ample justification and panegyric of that opposition, who for a course of years have, with honest perseverance, reprobated that minister's administration. I will not say it is a justification of rebellion, but it is the best defence I have seen; it amounts to a direct charge, for those last fifty years, on the aristocracy, and on the Commons, of faction, of plunder, of breaches with England, and of acts of separation; and it particularly condemns the Parliament for those very measures on which she must rest her credit and authority with the people; and further, it charges, that before any rebel was in the country, a leading minister in the cabinet was himself, and has been for eight years, a secret adviser against the parliamentary constitution of Ireland, of course, against the fundamental laws of the land; to such a work, containing three fabrications, four capital departures from matter of fact, together with the disparagement of his country, and of almost every honest public character for the last fifty years, I do not think it necessary to say more.

I conclude, therefore, by repeating what I have already solemnly declared, that

It is not fact that we excited the Catholics.

It is not fact that we persecuted the Catholics.

It is not fact that we adopted the Catholic measures after the place bill and pension bill had passed, and in quest of new matter of opposition.

It is not fact, that I ever declared or wrote that the adjustment of 1782 emanated from Dungannon.

It is not fact, that I ever compared the Parliament that accomplished that adjustment to the Parliament of 1613.

It is not fact, that I ever declared that the Catholic would be most powerful, if these nations were separated.

It is not fact, that I ever abandoned to popularity the draft of a bill for vesting in the Parliament of England a power of imperial legislature.

It is not fact, that I ever saw, agreed to, or heard of, any such draft.

It is not fact, that I ever agreed to an alliance with any English party, to oppose any plan of national concord.

It is not fact, that I ever entered into any alliance, offensive and defensive, with them, however I might esteem their persons, and prefer their principles.

Here are ten assertions made by the author; *he is publicly called upon to establish them.*

I have said thus much to defend my country and myself, in opposition to this publication, that takes the name of a minister who has the support of the governments of both countries, and with respect to whom I have no advantage, except the cause, my own personal superiority, and another recommendation which I possess in common with almost every honest subject in Ireland, and with the Irish nation herself, the advantage which the calumniated has over the calumniator. I might avail myself of many more vulnerable parts in those publications, and press the supposed author personally, as he has pressed others; but, considering his situation more than he has done himself, I consign him to judges more severe than I could be, and to him the most awful, and, on this side the grave, the most tremendous — HIS COUNTRY AND HIS CONSCIENCE!*

APPENDIX.

EXTRACT FROM THE SECRETARY OF STATE (MR. HUTCHINSON'S) SPEECH, IN 1793.

"BUT what was the history of the representation in this country? He could inform gentlemen with some accuracy, having thought it his duty, when he took a more active part in public business, to extract from all the borough charters at at the Rolls-office their material contents. The number of representatives, in the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII., was one hundred; to this number Mary and Elizabeth added about forty-eight, but of these there were nineteen counties, of which Elizabeth had established seventeen, a mode of representation worthy the character of that great princess. In the first Parliament of James I., held in 1613, the members of the House of Commons were two hundred and thirty-two: the last creation of a borough was by Queen Anne, who created one only. For the difference between the number of representatives at the accession of James, and the present number of three hundred, the House of Stuart is responsible. One half of the representatives were made by them, and made by the exertion of prerogative; of those, James made forty at one stroke; most of them at the eve of a Parliament, and some after the writs of summons had issued. The Commons, in that Parliament, expressed their doubts whether those boroughs had the power of returning members to sit in Parliament, and reserved that subject for future consideration. Complaints were made to James of those grants, but what was his answer? "I have made forty boroughs; suppose I had made four hundred — the more the merrier." Charles I. followed the example of his father in exercising this prerogative, but not to so great an extent. Complaints were also made to him, and he gave assurances that the new corporations should be reviewed by Parliament. The grants made by these two monarchs appear, by the histories and correspondences of those times, to have been for the purpose of giving the Protestants a majority over the Roman Catholics. The grants by Charles II., James II., and Queen Anne, proceeded from motives of personal favour; thus it would appear, if the facts were investigated, that one half of the representation of Ireland had arisen from the exertions of prerogative, influenced by occasional motives, disputes among religionists, and inducements of personal favour, but had not been derived from any of those sources which had produced the English constitution. Had he the honour of being a member of the British House of Commons, he would never touch the venerable fabric of their representation; but, in this kingdom, the part of the representation universally complained of, had originated in party or private motives, and he did not believe there was one prescriptive borough in the whole kingdom. He believed some boroughs were called so, but, he believed, unjustly; eleven of the grants which had been mentioned, did not appear at the Rolls-office, but most of these were *modern* in the time of the *House of Stuart*."

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* This was singularly prophetic. After the Union, Lord Clare repented of his conduct, and I have heard a near relation of his declare, that, in his latter days, he bitterly reproached himself for the part he had taken in that measure. — *Note by Editor.*

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

VOLUNTEERS.

Abstract of the effective Men in the different Volunteer Corps, whose Delegates met at Dungannon, and those who acceded to their Resolutions, and to the Requisitions of the House of Commons of Ireland, the 16th of April, 1782, (viz. " That there is no body " of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the " King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, nor any other Parlia- " ment which hath any authority or power, of any sort whatso- " ever, in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland.

" That in this right, the very essence of our liberties exists ;— " a right which we, on the part of the people of Ireland, do claim " as their birth-right, and which we cannot yield but with our lives.")

COMMANDER IN CHIEF.

Earl of Charlemont.

GENERALS.

Duke of Leinster.
Earl of Tyrone.
Earl of Aldborough.
Lord De Vesci.
Sir B. Denny.
Right Honourable George Ogle.
Sir James Tynte.
Earl of Clanricarde.
Earl of Muskerry.
Sir William Parsons.
Honourable J. Butler.
Right Honourable Henry King.*

Province of Ulster.

Dungannon Meeting, 153 Corps,	26,280
Twenty-one Corps since acceded,	3,938
Infantry since acceded Two Battalions,	1,250
Six Corps of Cavalry,	200
Eight Corps of Artillery,	420
	32,088
Ulster Corps which have acceded since the 1st of April, 35 of Infantry and one Battalion,	1,972
Two of Cavalry,	92
Total of Ulster,	34,152

Artillery.

Six pounders,	16
Three pounders,	10
Howitzers,	6
Total Pieces of Artillery,	32

Province of Connaught.

Ballinasloe Meeting 59 Corps,	6,897
Thirty-one Corps of Infantry, who since acceded,	5,781
Cavalry eight Corps,	421
Artillery,	250
	13,349
Acceded since 1st of April four Corps of Infantry and one of Cavalry,	987
Total of Connaught,	14,336

Artillery.

Six pounders,	10
Three pounders,	10
Total Pieces of Artillery,	20

Province of Munster.

City and County of Cork,	5,123
68 other Corps of Infantry, in the Province,	7,987
Cavalry of the Province returned 15 Corps,	710
Artillery 9 Corps,	221
Total	14,041
Acceded since 1st April, 15 Corps of Infantry,	3,921
Two Corps of Cavalry,	94
Total of Munster,	18,056

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* Besides these — the Volunteers at their Provincial Reviews, elected their Reviewing Generals.

Artillery.

Six pounders, - -	14
Three pounders, - -	14
Howitzers, - -	4
Total Pieces of Artillery,	32

Province of Leinster.

139 Corps whose delegates met at Dublin, April 17th, 1782,	16,983
10 Corps of Cavalry who before acceded and no delegates sent,	580
19 ditto of Infantry, - -	4,398
Artillery 9 Corps, - -	322
Total of Leinster, - -	22,283

Artillery.

Nine pounders, - -	2
Six pounders, - -	16
Three pounders, - -	14
Howitzers, - -	6
Total Pieces of Artillery,	38

Total Numbers.

Ulster, - - -	34,152
Munster, - - -	18,056
Connaught, - - -	14,336
Leinster, - - -	22,283
Total - - -	88,827
22 Corps have also acceded but made no returns; estimated at	12,000
Making in all nearly a general grand Total of - -	100,000

Artillery 130 pieces.

LIST AND NAMES OF THE VOLUNTEERS.

Aghavoe Loyals.

Associated July 1st, 1782.—Scarlet, faced Blue.

Captain Robert White.

Aldborough Legion.

Associated August, 1777.—Scarlet, faced Black, Silver Lace.

Colonel Earl of Aldborough.

Ards Battalion.

Colonel Patrick Savage.

Ardee Rangers.

Arlington Light Cavalry.

Associated September 18th, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Green, Yellow buttons.

Captain George Gore.
Lieutenant J. Warburton.
Cornet Jonathan Chetwood.

Arran Phalanx.

Scarlet, faced White.

Captain Dawson.
Lieutenant Frederick Gore.
Earl of Arran.

Armagh Volunteers.

Athy Independents.

Associated September, 1779.—Scarlet, faced White.

Captain Robert Johnston.

Athy Volunteers.

Associated September, 1779.—Scarlet, faced White.

Athy Rangers.

Captain Weldon.

Attorneys' Corps.

Aughnacloy Battalion.

Scarlet, faced White.

Colonel P. Alexander.

Aughnacloy Volunteers.

Captain Thomas Forsyth.

Ashfield Volunteers.

Blue, faced Blue.

Captain H. Clements.

Aughrim Corps of Cork.

Associated March 17th, 1778.—Scarlet, faced Scarlet, edged White.

Colonel Richard Longfield.
Major Edward Jameson.
Captain Samuel Rowland.

Aughrim Light Horse.

Scarlet, faced pea Green.

Colonel Walter Lambert.

Bantry Volunteers.

Associated July 12th, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Black, edged White.

Ballintemple Forresters.

Associated July 12th, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Blue.

Captain Stewart.

Ballyroom Cavalry.

Barony Rangers.

Associated March 17th, 1778.—Scarlet, faced Black.

Colonel Andrew Armstrong.
Captain Robert Shervington.

Barony of Forth Corps.

Associated January 1st, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Blue.

Major Hughes.

Ballyleek Rangers.

Associated in 1779. — Scarlet, faced White, Gold Lace.

Colonel John Montgomery.

Bandon Cavalry.

Colonel S. Stawell.
Major John Travers.

Bandon Independent Company.

Colonel Francis Bernard.
Captain Robert Seale.

Ballina and Ardnaree (loyal) Volunteers.

Associated July 1st, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Black.

Colonel Right Honourable Henry King.
Major Henry Cary.

Ballymascanlan Rangers, (Co. Louth).

Captain R. M'Neale.

Belfast Union.

Associated June 12th, 1778. — Scarlet, faced Blue.

Captain Lyons.

Belfast Light Dragoons.

Associated March 26th, 1781. — Scarlet, faced Green, Silver Lace.

Captain Burden.

Belfast Battalion.

Associated April 1779. — Scarlet, faced Black.

Colonel Stewart Banks.
Major Brown.

Belfast Volunteer Company.

Associated April 6th, 1778. — Blue, faced Blue, Laced Hats.

Captain Brown.
Do. S. M'Tier.

Belfast First Volunteer Company.

Associated March 17th, 1778.— Scarlet, faced Black.

Captain Waddel Cunningham.

Belfast United Volunteer Companies.

Blackwater Volunteers.

Colonel Richard Aldworth.
Lieutenant Colonel Robert Stanard.

Blackpool Association.

Colonel John Harding.
Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Barry.

Blarney Volunteers.

Lieutenant Colonel Daniel Gibbs.
Captain Edward O'Donnoghue.

Borriss Volunteers.

Associated in 1779. — Scarlet, faced Black.

Colonel Kavanagh.

Borriss in Ossory Rangers.

Associated August 1st, 1779.— Scarlet, faced Black, Silver Epaulets.

Captain Commandant James Stephens.
Lieutenant Erasmus Burrowes.
Ensign Walter Stephens.

Boyne Volunteer Corps.

Colonel John Bagwell.
Major John Bass.
Lieutenant Charles Willcocks.

Builders' Corps.

Associated November 4th, 1781. — Blue, faced Blue, edged Scarlet.

Colonel Read.

Burrassakane Volunteers.

Major Thomas Stoney.

Castlebar Independents.

Associated March 17th, 1779.— Scarlet, faced deep Green.

Colonel Pk. Randal M'Donald.

Castlebar Volunteers.

Lieutenant Colonel Jordan, M. S.

Carrick on Shannon Infantry.

Associated August, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Blue.

Lieutenant Colonel Peyton.

Castle Mount Garret Volunteers.

Associated in 1778. — Scarlet, faced deep Green.

Colonel D. G. Browne.
Lieutenant John Henry.

Callan Union.

Associated April 1st, 1779. — Green, edged White.

Captain Elliott.

Caledon Volunteers.

Captain James Dawson.

Carlow Association.

Associated September 1st, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Black.

Major Eustace, M. S.
Lieutenant and Adjutant T. Proctor.

Carrick on Suir Union.

Captain Edward Morgan Mandeville.

Carberry Independent Company.
Captain John Townshend.

Carrickfergus Company.
Associated April 3rd, 1779 — Scarlet, faced pea Green.
Captain Marriot Dalway.
Lieutenant Rice.

Carton Union.
Colonel H. Cane.

Castlecomer Hunters and Light Infantry.
Colonel Lord Wandesford.

Castledermott Volunteers.
Captain Robert Power.

Castledurrow Light Horse.
Associated August, 1778. — Green, edged White.
Captain Richard Lawrenson.

Castledurrow Volunteers.
Associated July 1st, 1779. — Green, edged White, Silver Lace.
Captain Bathorn.

Castletown Union.
Captain Com. Right Hon. T. Conolly.

Cavan (County) Volunteers.
Colonel Enery.

Cavan Independent Volunteers.

Carlow (County) Legion.
Associated September 1st, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Lemon Colour.
Colonel J. Rochfort.
Major Henry Bunbury.

Charleville Infantry.
Associated January 4th, 1779. — Blue, faced Scarlet.
Colonel Chidley Coote.
Major H. George Hatfield.

Clanricarde Brigade.
Associated June, 1782.—Scarlet, faced Blue.
Major Darcy.

Clanricarde Infantry.
Captain David Power.

Clanricarde Cavalry.
Colonel Peter Daly.
Captain P. D'Arcy.

Clanwilliam Union.
Colonel Earl of Clanwilliam.
Captain Alleyn.

Clane Rangers.
Associated September, 1779. — Scarlet, faced White.
Captain Michael Aylmer.

Clonmel Independents.
Colonel Bagwell.

Clonlonan Light Infantry.
Colonel George Clibborne.

Cork Independent Artillery.
Associated March 17th, 1781.—Blue, faced Scarlet, Gold Lace.
Colonel Richard Hare.

Constitution Regiment (Co. Down.)
Scarlet, faced Yellow.
Captain Ford.
Do. Gawin Hamilton.

Coleraine Volunteers.
Colonel Richardson.
Lieutenant Colonel Canning.
Major Lyle.

Coolock Independents, North.
Captain James Walker.

Coolock Independents.
Colonel Richard Talbot.

Connaught Volunteers.

Counagh Rangers.
Colonel Percival.

Conner Volunteers.

Cork Union.
Henry Hickman Commandant.

Cork Cavalry.
Colonel William Chetwynd.
Major John Gilman.
Captain John Smyth.

Crossmolina Infantry and Artillery.

Cullenagh Rangers.
Colonel Barrington.

Culloden Volunteer Society of Cork.
Colonel Benjamin Bousfield.
Captain Lieutenant Henry Newsom.

Comber Battalion.
Colonel David Ross.

Curraghmore Rangers.
Captain Shee.

Delvin Volunteers.
Colonel Thomas Smyth.

Donegal First Regiment.
Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton.

Doneraile Rangers.
Colonel Right Hon. Lord Doneraile.
Captain Nicholas G. Evans.

Down Volunteers.
Captain Henry West.

Down First Regiment, 2d Battalion.
Blue, faced Orange.
Colonel Stewart.

Down Fuzileers.
Captain Trotter.

Drogheda Association.
Associated in 1777. — Scarlet, faced Pomona Green, Gold laced Hats.
Colonel Mead Ogle.
Lieut. Colonel H. Montgomery Lyons.
Major William Cheshire.
Captain Oliver Fairtlough.
Lieutenant William Holmes.
Lieutenant John Ackland.

Dromore Volunteers, (Co. Kerry).
Scarlet, faced Green.
Colonel John Mahony.

Drumahare Blues.
Lieutenant Armstrong.

Drumbridge Volunteers.
Major A. G. Stewart.

Dublin Volunteers.
Associated October 6th, 1778.—Blue, faced Blue, edged Scarlet, Yellow Buttons.
Colonel Duke of Leinster.
Lieutenant Colonel H. Monck.
Captain N. Warren.
Lieutenant E. Medlicott,

Dublin (County) Light Dragoons.
Associated August, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Black.
Colonel Right Hon. Luke Gardiner.
Captain Everard.

Dublin Independent Volunteers.
Associated April 24th, 1780. — Scarlet, faced dark Green.
Colonel Henry Grattan.
Lieut. Colonel Right Hon. H. Flood.
Major Samuel Canier.

Duhallow Rangers.
Col. the Hon. Charles George Percival.
Lieutenant Colonel William Wrixon.

Duleek Light Company.
Associated July, 1778.—Scarlet, faced Black.
Captain Thomas Trotter.

Dunkerrin Volunteers.
Associated June 20th, 1779.— Scarlet, faced Black.
Colonel J. F. Rolleston.

Dunlavin Light Dragoons.
Associated in 1777. —White, faced Black, Silver Lace.
Colonel M. Saunders.
Captain Charles Oulton.

Dunlavin Corps.

Dunmore Rangers.
Associated August, 1779.— Green, edged White.
Colonel Sir Robert Staples, Bart.

Dundalk Ind. Light Dragoons.
Captain Thomas Read.

Dundalk Horse.
Scarlet, faced Green.
I. W. Foster, Esq.

Dundalk Artillery.

Dungarvan Volunteers.
Captain Boate.

Dungiven Battalion.
Associated June 14th, 1778.—Scarlet, faced Black.
Major Thomas Bond.
Captain Thomas Fanning.

Dunmore Volunteers.

Dungannon Battalion.
Major O'Duffin.

Durrow Light Dragoons.

Dungannon Volunteers.
Captain Richardson.

Echlin Vale Volunteers
Associated October 19th, 1778.— Scarlet, faced White.
Captain Charles Echlin.

Edenderry Union.
Associated May 1st, 1777.—Scarlet, faced Black.
Captain Shaw Cartland.

Edgeworthstown Battalion.
Associated in 1779. — Blue, faced Scarlet.
Colonel Sir W. G. Newcomen, Bart.

Eglish Rangers.

Associated August 29th, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Black, Silver Epaulets.

Major Thomas Berry.
Captain John Drought.
Lieutenant and Adjutant J. Clarke.

Ennis Volunteers.

Associated October 12th, 1778.—Scarlet, faced Black.

Colonel William Blood.

Enniscorthy Light Dragoons.

Colonel Phaire.
Captain Charles Dawson.

Enniscorthy Artillery.

Colonel Joshua Pounden.
Major William Bennett.

Eyrecourt Buffs.

Associated June 1st, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Buff, Gold Epaulets.

Colonel Giles Eyre.
Captain Stephen Blake.

Independent Enniskilleners.

Scarlet, faced Black.

Captain James Armstrong.

Farbill Light Dragoons.

Captain Robert Cook.

Fartullagh Rangers.

Associated October 1st, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Blue.

Colonel Rochfort Hume.

Fethard Independents.

Major Matthew Jacob.

First Irish Volunteers, (Co. Wexford.)

Lieutenant Colonel Derenzy.

Finea Independents.

Associated May 1st, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Blue.

Colonel Coyne Nugent.

Fingal Light Dragoons.

Associated June 27th, 1783.—Scarlet, faced White.

Captain Thomas Baker.

Finglass Volunteers.

Colonel Segrave

Fore Infantry Loyalists.

Major William Pollard.
Captain Nugent.

Fore Cavalry & Finea Rangers.

Colonel William Gore, (Finea Rangers.)

French Park Light Horse.

Associated June, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Black, edged White, Gold Lace.

Lieut. Colonel Edward M'Dermott.
Lieutenant Owen M'Dermott.

Galway Volunteers.

Colonel Richard Martin.
Major John Blake.

Galway (County) Volunteers.

Garrycastle Light Cavalry.

Glanmire Union.

Colonel Henry Mannix.
Captain Simon Dring.

Glenboy & Killemat Regiment.

Associated August 1st, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Blue, Silver Lace.

Colonel Cullen.

Glendermot Battalion.

Colonel George Ash.

Glin Royal Artillery.

Associated April, 1776.—Blue, faced Blue, Scarlet Cuffs and Capes, Gold Lace.

Colonel J. Fitzgerald, Knight of Glin.
Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Burgess.

Glorious Memory Battalion.

Associated in 1780.—Scarlet, faced grass Green.

Colonel T. Morris Jones.

Goldsmiths' Corps.

Associated March 17th, 1779.—Blue, faced Scarlet, Gold Lace.

Captain Benjamin O'Brien.

Gort Light Dragoons.

Major James Galbraith.

Gortin Volunteers.

Hon. Arth. Colonel Hamilton.
Lieutenant Lennon.

Graigue (Q. C.) Volunteers.

Associated May 1st, 1779.—Blue, faced Scarlet, Silver Lace.

Colonel B. Bagnal.

Granard Infantry Union Brigade.

Associated May 1st, 1782.—Scarlet, faced Blue.

Captain C. E. Hamilton.

Granard Volunteers.

Colonel Earl of Granard.
Lieutenant Robert Holmes.

Hanover Society.
Colonel Richard Hungerford.

Hollywood Volunteers.
Captain John Kennedy.

Hibernian Light Dragoons.

Ida Light Dragoons.
Major Fitzgerald.

Imokilly Horse, (Co. Cork.)
White, edged Scarlet.
Colonel Roche.
Lieutenant Colonel Robert M'Carthy.

First Volunteers of Ireland.
Associated July 1st, 1766.—Scarlet, faced Blue.
Colonel Sir Vesey Colclough, Bart.

Irish Brigade.
Associated June 5th, 1782.—Scarlet, faced grass Green, Silver Lace.
Captain Charles Abbott.

Iveagh First Battalion.
Colonel Sir Richard Johnston.

Iverk Volunteers.
Colonel Right Hon. John Ponsonby.
Major Osborne.

Inchegelagh Volunteers.
Captain Commandant Jasper Masters.
Lieutenant John Boyle.

Imokilly Blues.
Colonel Robert Uniacke Fitzgerald.

Kanturk Volunteers.
Colonel Right Hon. Earl of Egmont.

Kell's Association.
Associated November 1st, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Green.
Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin Morris.

Kerry Legion.
Colonel Arthur Blenerhasset.
Major Godfrey.

Kile Volunteers.
Associated August 1st, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Blue, Silver Lace.
Colonel Charles White.

Kilcullen Rangers.
Associated September, 1779.—Scarlet, faced White.
Captain Keating.

Kilcoursey Union.
Major Bagot.

Kilcooly True Blues.
Associated in 1779.—Blue, faced White.
Colonel Sir William Barker, Bart.

Kildare Infantry.
Captain James Spencer.

Kilkenny Rangers.
Associated January 2d, 1770.—Green, with Silver Lace.
Colonel Mossom.
Major Wemys.

Kilkenny Horse.
Colonel Cuffe.

Killala Infantry.

Killimoon Battalion and Artillery Company.
Robert White, Adjutant.

First Killinchy Independent Volunteer Company.
Captain Gawin Hamilton.

Kilmore Light Infantry.
Matthew Forde, jun.

Kinnilea & Kirrikuriky Union.
Colonel Thomas Roberts.
Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Herrick.
Major John Roberts.

Kinsale Volunteers.
Colonel Kearney.
Captain Leary.

Killivan Volunteers.
Associated December 25th, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Green.
Major William Smith.

Kilmain Horse and Infantry.

Kilkenny Volunteers.
Associated June 10th, 1779.—Blue, faced Scarlet, Gold Lace.
Colonel Thomas Butler.
Lieutenant Colonel Knaresbrough.
Captains Laffan, Shanahan, Purcell.
Ensign Davis.

Kilkenny Independents.
Major Roche.

Knox's Independent Troop.

Lagan Volunteers.

Larne Royal Volunteers.

Lawyers' Corps.
Associated April, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Blue, Gold Lace.
Colonel Townley Patten Filgate.

Lambeg, Lisburne, &c. Volunteers.
R. H. M'Neil, Commandant.

Lawyers' Artillery.
Captain William Holt.

Larne Independents.
Associated April, 1782. — Scarlet, faced Blue.
Captain White.

Limavady Battalion.
Associated November 7th, 1777.— Scarlet, faced Black.
Colonel James Boyle.

Leitrim Rangers.

Leap Independents.
Associated March 17th, 1780. — Blue, faced Blue, edged White.
Colonel Jonathan Darby.

Lecale Battalion (Co. Down.)
Lieutenant Charles M'Carthy.

Liberty Volunteers.
Associated July, 1779.— Scarlet, faced pea Green.
Colonel Sir Edward Newenham.
Captain Edward Newenham.

Limerick Loyal Volunteers.
Brigadier General Thomas Smyth.
Captain George Pitt.

Limerick Independents.
Associated September, 1776.—Scarlet, faced Green, Silver Lace.
Colonel John Prendergast.
Major C. Powell.

Lismore Independent Blues.

Limerick Volunteers.

Liberty Artillery.
Captain Tandy.

Liney Volunteers.
Associated in 1778.—Scarlet, faced Blue.
Major George Dodwell.

Limerick Cavalry.
Scarlet, faced Blue, Silver Lace.

Lisburne Fusileers.
Scarlet, faced Blue.
Lieutenant John Kenby.

Londonderry Regiment.
Colonel John Ferguson.

Lorha Rangers.
Capt. Walsh.

Loughal Volunteers.

Loughinshillen Volunteers.

Loughinshillen Battalion.
General Rt. Hon. Thos. Conolly.
Colonel Staples.
Lieutenant Colonel Dawson.
Major John Downing.

Lower Iveagh Legion.

Lowtherstown, &c. Ind. Volunteers.
Associated in 1779.— Scarlet, faced Black.
Colonel William Irvine.

Londonderry Ind. Volunteer Company.
Captain J. Ferguson.

Loughgall Volunteers.
Captain J. Blackall.

Longford (County) Lt. Horse.
Earl of Granard.

Londonderry Fuzileers.
Associated June 14th, 1778.— Scarlet, faced Blue,
Lieutenant A. Scott.
Adjutant Henry Delap.

Longford Light Horse.
Associated in 1779.— Buff faced Black.
Colonel H. Nisbitt.

Maguire's Bridge Volunteers.

Magherafelt Volunteers, 1st.
Associated June, 1773.—Scarlet, faced Black.
Captain A. Tracy.
Lieutenant Richard Dawson.
Ensign R. Montgomery.

Mallow Independent Volunteers.

Mallow Boyne Cavalry and Infantry.
Captain Cavalry Rogerson Cotter.
Do. Infantry William Gallway.

Maryborough Volunteers.
Associated May, 1776.— Scarlet, faced Black.
Colonel Sir J. Parnell, Bart.

Meath Volunteers.

Merchants' Corps.
Associated June 9th, 1779.— Scarlet, faced Blue, Gold Lace.
Captain Theos Dixon.
Do. C. M. M'Mahon.

Merchants' Artillery.
Captain George Maquay.

Mitchelstown Independent Light Dragoons.

Scarlet, faced Black.
Colonel Rt. Hon. Lord Kingsborough.
Lieut. Col. Henry Cole Bowen, Esq.
Major James Badham Thornhill.

Monaghan Independents.

Monaghan Rangers.

Associated January 10th, 1780. — Scarlet, faced White.
Colonel William Forster.

Monaghan First Battalion.

Colonel J. Montgomery.

Monastereven Volunteers.

Associated October, 1778. — Scarlet, faced White.
Captain Houlton Anderson.

Mote Light Infantry.

Associated in 1778. — Scarlet, faced pea Green.
Colonel Sir H. Lynch Blosse, Bart.

Mountain Rangers.

Associated August 15th, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Black.
Colonel Bernard.
Major George Clarke.
Captain John Drought.

Mountmelick Volunteers.

Mountnorris Volunteers.

Moycashel Association.

Colonel Hon. Robert Rochfort.
Captain John Lyons.

Mullingar Volunteers.

Colonel, Earl of Granard.
Lieutenant Colonel William Judge.

Munster Volunteers.

Muskerry True Blue Light Dragoons.

Colonel Robert Warren.
Lieutenant Colonel R. Hutchinson.
Major Samuel Swete.

Muskerry True Blues.

Muskerry Volunteers.

Capt. Commandant Thos. Barker, Esq.

Mullingar Association.

Captain Robert Moore.

Naas Rangers.

Associated December 10th, 1779. — Scarlet, faced White.
Captain Commandant R. Neville.

Newberry Loyal Musqueteers.

Newmarket Rangers.

Colonel Boyle Aldworth.
Major Wm. Allen.

Newport Volunteers.

Captain Richard Waller.

New Ross Independents.

Associated November 17th, 1777. — Scarlet, faced Black.
Colonel B. Elliot.

Newcastle and Donore Union.

Captain Verschoyle.

Newry Volunteers, 1st Company.

Captain Benson.

Newry Volunteers, 3d Company.

Captain David Bell.

Newry Rangers.

Captain Benson.

Newtown and Castlecomer Battalion.

Captain Commandant Robert Stewart.

Newry 1st Regiment, or Newry Legion.

Ormond Independents.

Colonel Toler.
Lieutenant Wm. Greenshields.

Ormond Union.

Captain Ralph Smith.

Orior Grenadiers.

Associated Sept. 15th, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Black.
Captain James Dawson.

Offerlane Blues.

Associated October 10th, 1773. — Scarlet, faced Blue, Silver Lace.
Colonel Luke Flood.

Ossory True Blues.

Associated July 1st, 1779. — Scarlet, edged Blue.
Colonel Edward Flood.
Major Robert Palmer.

Owzle Galley Corps.

Captain Theo. Thompson.

Passage Union Volunteers.

Portarlington Infantry.

Associated September 18th, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Yellow, Silver Lace.
Major Commandant W. H. Legrand.
Captain James Stannus.
Do. Henry Carey.
Ensign Annesley Cary.

Parsonstown Loyal Independents

Associated February 15th, 1776. — Scarlet, faced Black, Silver Lace.

Col. Sir William Parsons, Bart.
Major L. Parsons.
Captain B. B. Warburton.
Lieutenant Edward Tracy.

Raford Brigade (Light Cavalry).

Associated December 26th, 1779. — Scarlet, edged Blue, Gold Lace.

Colonel Denis Daly.

Rakenny Volunteers.

Colonel Theophilus Clements.

Ralphsdale Light Dragoons.

Scarlet, faced Yellow.

Captain John Tandy.

Ramelton Volunteers.

Captain James Watt.

Raphoe Battalion.

Associated July 1st, 1778. — Scarlet, faced Blue.

Lieutenant Colonel Nisbitt.

Rathdown Carbineers.

Major Edwards.

Rathdown Light Dragoons. (Co. Dublin.)

Associated June, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Black.

Colonel Sir John Allen Johnson, Bart.

Rathdowny Volunteers.

Associated February, 1776. — Scarlet, faced White.

Colonel J. Palmer.

Rathangan Union.

Associated August 2d, 1782. — Scarlet, faced White.

Captain William Montgomery.

Rockingham Volunteers.

Associated Sept. 7th, 1779. — Blue, faced Blue, edged Scarlet, Yellow Buttons.

Colonel Nixon.
Major Chamney.

Roscrea Blues.

Associated July 21st, 1779. — Blue, faced Blue, Gold Lace.

Colonel L. Parsons.

Rosanallis Volunteers.

Associated July 1st, 1774. — Scarlet, faced Blue, Silver Lace.

Colonel Richard Croasdale.
Major George Sandes.
Captains L. Sandes.
J. Sabatier.
A. Johnson.
Lieutenant William Tracey.

Roscommon Independent Forresters.

Associated May 1st, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Green.

Colonel R. Waller.
Lieut. Col. Thomas M'Dermott,
Major Edward Dowling.

Ross Union Rangers.

Associated August 1st, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Green.

Colonel Drake.

Ross Volunteer Guards.

Associated Sept. 20th, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Black.

Capt. Lieut. H. T. Houghton.

Roxborough Volunteers.

Associated in 1777. — Scarlet, faced Blue, Silver Epaulets.

Colonel William Perse.

Royal 1st Regt. (Co. Antrim.)

Scarlet, faced Blue, Gold Lace.

Major A. M'Manus.

Saintfield Light Infantry.

Captain Nicholas Price.

Skreen Corps.

Lord Killeen.

Skreen Corps of Dragoons.

Colonel John Dillon.
Captain James Cheney.

Slane Volunteers.

Lieut. John Forbes.

Slievardagh Light Dragoons.

Sligo Loyal Volunteers.

Associated May 25th, 1779. — Scarlet, faced White.

Lieutenant Colonel Ormsby.

Society Volunteers of Derry.

Associated March 17th, 1782. — Scarlet, faced Blue.

Captain Wm. Moore.

Strabane Battalion.

Lieut. Col. Charleton.

Stradbally Volunteers.

Associated Oct. 12th, 1779. — Scarlet. faced Blue, Silver Lace.

Colonel Thomas Cosby.

Strokestown Light Horse.

Associated November, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Yellow.

Major Gilbert Conry.

Talbotstown Invincibles.

Associated December, 1780.—Scarlet, faced deep Green.

Col. Nicholas Westby.
Major John Smith.
Lieut. F. W. Greene.

Tallow Blues.

Captain Commandant George Bowles.

Tipperary Light Dragoons and Tipperary Infantry.

Lieutenant Colonel Baker.

Tipperary Volunteers.

Associated May 1st, 1776.—Scarlet, faced Black, Silver Lace.

Captain James Roe.

Tralee Royal Volunteers.

Associated Jan. 7th, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Blue, Gold Lace

Colonel Sir Barry Denny, Bart.

Trim Infantry.

Associated July 12th, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Black.

Captain W. H. Finlay.

Trim and Ratoath Volunteers.

Colonel Earl of Mornington.
(afterwards Marquis of Wellesley.)

True Blue Legion, City of Cork.

Colonel the Rt. Hon. Earl of Shannon.
Lieutenant Colonel Morrison.

True Blue & Society Volunteers.

True Blue Legion, Co.

Colonel Right. Hon. Earl of Shannon.
Lieutenant Colonel James Morrisson.
Major Michael Westropp.

True Blue Volunteers Londonderry.

Captain Lieutenant Moore.
Captain William Lecky.

True Blue Battalion, (Co. Fermanagh.)

Colonel Archdall.
Captain Lendrum.

Tullamore True Blue Rangers.

Associated October 28th, 1778.—Scarlet, faced Blue, Silver Lace.

Colonel Charles William Bury.

Tullow Rangers.

Associated August 10th, 1778.—Scarlet, faced Black, White Buttons.

Captain Whelan.

Tully Ash Real Volunteers.

Associated October 15th, 1783.—Scarlet, faced Black, Silver Lace.

Colonel J. Dawson Lawrence.
Captain A. Dawson Lawrence.

Tyrawley Rangers.

Tyrell True Blues.

Tyrrels' Pass Volunteers.

Associated in 1776.—Grey, faced Scarlet, Silver Lace.

Captain Honourable Robert Moore.

Tyrone First Regiment.

Associated July 1780.—Scarlet, faced deep Blue.

Colonel James Stewart.
Lieutenant Colonel Charlton.

Ulster Volunteer True Blue Battalion.

Associated 3d September, 1779.—Blue, faced Scarlet.

Major Robert Barden.
Lieutenant George Tandy.

Ulster (First) Regiment.

Scarlet, faced White.

Colonel Earl of Charlemont.
Lieut. Colonels Sir W. Synnot, Right Honourable William Brownlow, C. M'Causland.
Captain G. W. Molyneux.

Ulster (Third) Regiment.

Lieutenant Colonel William Ross.

Ulster (Fourth) Regiment.

Scarlet, faced Blue.

Colonel R. M'Clintock.

Ulster Regiment.

Ulster Regiment Artillery.

Blue, faced Scarlet.

Captain Thomas Ward.

Union Regiment (Moira).

Lieutenant Colonel Sharman.
Captain Patton.

Union Rangers.

Captain Arthur Dawson.

Union Light Dragoons (Co. Meath.)

Scarlet, faced Green.

Captain G. Lucas Nugent.

Union Light Dragoons, (City of Dublin.)

Associated Sept. 12th, 1780.—Scarlet, faced Green.

Captain Commandant R. Cornwall.
Lieutenant J. Talbot Ashenhurst.

Upper Cross and Coolock Independent Volunteers.
Associated October, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Black.

Waterford Volunteer Companies.
1, 2, 3, 4, and 5.

Waterford City Royal Oak Volunteers.

Waterford Artillery & Infantry.
No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.
Captain Hannibal William Dobbyn.

Waterford Royal Battalion.
Associated April 25th, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Blue.
Major William Alcock.
Captain Robert Shapland Carew.

Waterford Artillery.
Captain Joshua Paul.

Waterford Infantry.

Waterford Union.
Associated, November 6th, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Green.
Captain Thomas Christmas.

Westport Volunteers.

Wexford Independent Light Dragoons.
Associated the autumn of 1775. — Scarlet, faced Royal Blue.
Colonel John Beauman.

Wexford Independents.

Wexford Independent Volunteers.
Associated October 4th, 1779.—Scarlet, faced Black.
Captain and Adjutant Miller Clifford.

White House Volunteers.

Wicklow Forresters.
Associated July 1st, 1779. — Scarlet, faced Light Blue.
Colonel Samuel Hayes.
Captain Thomas King
Do. Andrew Prior.

Wicklow Association Artillery.
Blue, faced Scarlet.
Thomas Montgomery Blair, Esq.

Willsborough Volunteers.
Associated October 1779. — Dark Green, edged White.
Colonel Thomas Willis.
Major Owen Young.

Youghal Independent Rangers.
Lieutenant Colonel Meade Hobson.
Major John Swayne.

Youghal Independent Volunteers.
Captain Boles.

Youghal Union.
Major Thomas Green.

FREE TRADE.

Freedom of Corporation of Weavers.

Be it remembered, that on the First Day of October, 1779, the Corporation of Weavers, Dublin, did unanimously vote the Freedom of their Guild, to Henry Grattan, Esq., for his very eminent Service to the Manufactures of Ireland, and his uniform and truly patriotic conduct in Parliament.

MONTFORT GREEN, Master.
THOMAS ANGIER, } Wardens.
JOHN COSTLY, }

Be it remembered, that at a General Quarter Assembly, held at the Tholsel of the City of Dublin, on Friday the 15th day of October, 1779: The Right Honourable James Hamilton being Lord Mayor of the said City, William James and John Exshaw, Esquires, being Sheriffs thereof, the Freedom of the said City was unanimously granted to Henry Grattan, Esq. Member of Parliament for the Borough of Charlemont, as the highest mark of esteem and regard for him, and of our entire approbation of his conduct in Parliament, and of his having in a peculiar manner exerted his great abilities to obtain a *free Trade* for this Kingdom.

In testimony whereof, we have caused the common Seal of the said City to be hereunto affixed, the day and year above written.

By the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Weavers, Dublin.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir, 1st January, 1780.

We, the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Weavers, reflecting that whilst a *Free Trade* shall be considered as an important national object, so long must a grateful reflection of your steady and patriotic conduct in the pursuit of it, be deeply impressed on the mind of every friend of Ireland.

To the spirited exertion of these great abilities, by which you are so eminently distinguished, on the first day of this memorable Session of Parliament, must be principally attributed these essential advantages which our commerce has at length obtained; and entertaining the most lively sense of your unwearied endeavours to secure to your country a permanent enjoyment of these advantages, by restoring the constitution to the proper spirit and ancient form, so that her Rights and Liberties may be ascertained, and her Trade be free and under the exclusive controul of her own Legislature.

We think ourselves highly highly honoured in embracing this opportunity of enrolling in our Guild the name of a man whose virtuous Parliamentary Conduct, and whose able and uniform support of the Rights and Privileges of Irishmen, cannot fail to be revered by every friend to this kingdom.

MONTFORT GREEN, Master.
RICHARD ATKINSON, } Wardens.
FRANCIS SAUL, }

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I find myself happy in the recollection of having, the first day of this Session, stopped a Government Address which otherwise would have passed unanimous, without any amendment for the Trade of Ireland.—I am glad also that I did not consider the trade of this country free, while the Parliament of England claimed and exercised over us a legislative authority. When we shall have established in every breast a decided sense against the power of a foreign Parliament, and shall have regulated the whole policy of this country, particularly the army, by our own Parliament; then will the Trade of Ireland be founded in freedom, and the claims of the British Legislature imaginary.

I am unable to express the sense which I entertain of the compliments you are pleased to bestow on me; by an indefatigable uniformity of conduct, I shall endeavour to deserve them.

I have the honour to be,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

FREEHOLDERS OF ARMAGH.

To the Right Honourable James, Earl of Charlemont, Sir Annesley Stuart, Bart. and Henry Grattan, Esq.

1st January, 1780.

We, the undernamed Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the county of Armagh, consider ourselves as particularly and personally called upon by the importance of the present juncture, to furnish every public and possible proof of a steady, sincere, and zealous attachment to the friends and the interests of Ireland.

To pass over in silence the authors and abettors of those great national measures, which are now shaking the commercial fetters from their fellow citizens — to overlook the merits of men, who, by the most strenuous and spirited exertions of genius and virtue, have exhibited to their native country the enlivening prospect of *political* as well as of *commercial* emancipation—to leave merits and men, so signal and illustrious, solely to the justice of posterity, as if posthumous honours were in this life the only reward of public virtue, would argue the highest degree both of *moral* and *political* depravity, and throw a lasting and indelible reproach on the *name* and the *annals* of Ireland; a charge which this kingdom would undoubtedly incur, and a reproach which she would most deservedly merit, if on this memorable occasion the names and the services of Lord Charlemont and his friends were unnoticed or forgotten.

With *these* opinions and *these* sentiments we should stand inexcusable to ourselves, to our country, and to mankind, if we omitted the first opportunity of conveying to you, in the most public manner, our hearty and sincere thanks; and of assuring you, that we want language to express those feelings of respect, gratitude, and affection, with which your conduct and your merits have inspired us.

Signed by 840 Freeholders.

1st January, 1780.

FREEDOM OF GUILD OF MERCHANTS.

17th January, 1780.

Be it remembered, that on Monday the 17th day of January, One thousand seven hundred and eighty, being Quarter Day of the Holy Trinity Guild of Merchants, Dublin; John Rose and William Alexander, Esquires, being Masters; William Worthington and Richard Moncrieffe, Esquires, Wardens: The Freedom of the said Guild was unanimously ordered to be presented to Henry Grattan, Esquire, for his steady conduct in Parliament, and his uniform and able exertions to promote the prosperity of Ireland.

In testimony whereof, we have caused the common seal of the said Guild to be hereunto affixed, the day and year aforesaid.

To which Resolution he was pleased to return the following Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

INSTEAD of returning formal thanks for the honour you have conferred upon me, let me bind myself to new duties in your service; to strain every nerve to effectuate a modification of the Law of Poynings, also to secure this country against the illegal claims of the British Parliament; and as a foundation to propose (if it seems the general sense, and if no person of more experience undertakes it,) immediately after the recess, "A Declaration of the Rights of Ireland." I know this measure is necessary for securing, upon lasting foundations, your Trade, Property, and Freedom, and is the only true and effectual method of improving the good understanding between Great Britain and this island, into an unaffected confidence, and a genuine affection. The success of both these measures is within the compass of the legal efforts of the people, and stands in need of them all; a late defiance thrown out to the subjects of this country, containing an indirect aspersion of their present constitutional proceedings, and a weak effort to deter from securing liberty, the general sense and national spirit of this kingdom, which has recently restored the exercise of its commerce, should incite you the more to insist upon the two great measures you have in contemplation. I conceive them to be the ultimatum of Ireland, and (without giving up retrenchment and the bills already sent over,) we ought not to ask for more, nor take less.

I have the honour,
With great respect to be, &c.
HENRY GRATTAN.

NORTH COOLOCK INDEPENDENTS.

April, 1780.

AT a full Meeting of the North Coolock Independents, JOSEPH WALKER, Esq. Captain Commandant in the Chair, the following Address to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. was unanimously agreed on, and the Officers of the Corps desired to wait on him with the same.

SIR,

FEELING that your truly patriotic conduct in Parliament, is impressed on our minds in such strong characters of gratitude as no language can express, we content ourselves with requesting your acceptance of our heartfelt thanks for the benefits we are likely to derive from the same.

Sir, I have the honour, under the general appointment of the Ennis Volunteers, of conveying to you the enclosed address, as the best mark of their approbation of your Parliamentary conduct.

'Tis part of my instructions to publish the Address, and whatever Answer you shall be pleased to give it.

I am, Sir,
With the most perfect respect,
Your obedient humble Servant,
LAN. COMYNE.

Bride Street, 18th April, 1780.

The Address of the Ennis Volunteers to Henry Grattan, Esq.

THE very zealous and successful attention with which you have supported the general interests and asserted the universal rights of this nation, and above all your late spirited and seasonable exhortations to the PEOPLE, demand that fulness of gratitude and applause which it is difficult sufficiently to mark by expression. Accept then, Sir, our plain and honest thanks.

Lieut. Col. BLOOD,
April 1. and 140 others.

AT a Meeting of the Mullingar Association held in the Court House on the 22d of April, 1780.

The Honble. ROBERT MOORE, in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That we will support, at the risque of every thing that is dear to us, the determinations of the virtuous Members of the Legislature, as we look upon those only to be our representatives, who act strictly consistent with the good of the people.

Resolved, *That limiting the supplies to one year* will be most material to this kingdom, and one great benefit will certainly accrue from it, that of rendering the frequent meeting of Parliament absolutely necessary; and we do not apprehend any objection can reasonably be made to it, as no extraordinary expence will be incurred, His Majesty's Representative being now constantly resident amongst us.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Corps be presented in the most respectful manner to the Honble. ROBERT ROCHFORT, for his virtuous and upright conduct in Parliament, as representative for this county; and it is with the most particular satisfaction we behold (at this æra of venality and corruption) a placeman steadily supporting, upon every occasion, the rights of his constituents.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Corps be presented to GEORGE OGLE, Esq. for his conduct in Parliament, a conduct, which would do honour to a Roman senate when in its purest state.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Corps be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. for the virtuous exertion of his great abilities in the cause of his country.

Resolved, That the above Resolutions be printed in the Westmeath and Dublin Journals with the answer received by our Chairman.

Resolved, That our Chairman do transmit these our Resolutions to our worthy Representative, and also to Mr. OGLE and Mr. GRATTAN in the most respectful manner.

Signed by Order,
ROBERT MOORE.
Capt. Mullingar Association.

LIBERTY VOLUNTEERS.

April 24th, 1780.

RESOLVED, That the sincere and grateful Thanks of this Corps be presented in the most public manner to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. and the ninety-eight worthy and faithful Guardians of the People's Rights who supported his motion on Wednesday, the 19th inst. "That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland (only) are competent to make Laws for the government of this kingdom."

Signed by Order,
R. WALKER, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

THE pleasure I receive from the approbation you express is heightened when I consider the sentiments you discover.

You yourselves make a declaration of right, and I never consider my Country destitute of freedom when the assumed supremacy of the British Parliament has been denied by almost every gentleman in the House of Commons, and has been so generally reprobated by the public.

I am, Gentlemen, &c.
HENRY GRATTAN.

MERCHANTS' CORPS of VOLUNTEERS.

April 28th, 1780.

AT a Meeting of the Merchants Corps of Volunteers, by Requisition to the President agreeable to the Constitution.

HENRY GUDGEON, Esq. in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That we would be deficient in that gratitude which every member of a state owes to the assertors of its Rights, did we omit to return in the most public manner our sincere Thanks to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. and the other truly patriotic and independent Senators, who, with the spirit to declare what no Irishman is *mean* enough to disavow, moved and supported in the House of Commons on Wednesday the 19th inst. a Resolution — "That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only "Power competent to make Laws to bind this Kingdom."

Signed by Order,
RICHARD DOBSON, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I FEEL myself much honoured by your respectable Corps. The sentiments you are pleased to express, become free subjects;

the declaration of such sentiments will set your Country free, and deter any power from making an attempt upon the liberties of men who entertain and publish so decided and just a sense of their rights and privileges.

I am, &c.
HENRY GRATTAN.

Monday, the 24th April, 1780.

At a Meeting of the Coolock Independents, commanded by Colonel Richard Talbot.

Lieut. JOHN PHEPOE in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the sincere Thanks of this Corps be presented to Henry Grattan, Esq. Captain in this Corps for his steady and truly patriotic conduct in Parliament, and particularly for his spirited endeavours to support the independency of this Kingdom by his motion for a declaration of rights, on Wednesday the 19th inst., and that a deputation do wait on him with the above resolution.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Corps be likewise presented to Captain Grattan for his constant attendance and attention to his duty in the Corps; and that these Resolutions be printed in Saunders Paper, and the Evening Post.

Signed by Order,
ROBERT THOMAS HEARN,
Lieut. and Adjt.

The ADDRESS of the LAWYERS CORPS.

Sir, April 30th, 1780.

The Lawyers Corps (ambitious to associate with a man whom they consider as an ornament to their Country, and a strenuous advocate of its rights), unanimously request you to accept of an honorary admission into their Society as an unequivocal testimony how much they admire great abilities, when exerted in the cause of liberty and of virtue. They particularly request you to accept their warmest thanks for the noble struggle you made in concurrence with many of the most respectable characters in this Kingdom on Wednesday the 19th inst. in defence of the people's rights, and for the purpose of uniting the British Empire; and assure you, however short the event of that day proved of their full expectations or your exertions, they are resolved firmly to support those rights as asserted in the Resolutions you proposed; they are happy to find that the principle of these Resolutions was avowed by every member of the house, (the servants of the Crown not excepted), although the majority declined on the ground of its not being necessary at this crisis to renew declarations which stand unimpeached on their Journals.

Signed by Order,
HENRY STEWART, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM much honoured by being made a Member of an Association which has long attracted my attention and admiration: When you declare that no power can bind this country except His Majesty, the Lords and Commons of Ireland, you do this nation signal service, by setting a great example to all other Volunteer Corps to make the same declaration of right under the sanction of your body, who not only protect the nation by your arms, but propagate the great Principles of Law and Liberty by your learning and authority.

In a country possessed of our laws, and filled with men of your spirit: — to agitate the question of freedom, is to be free: it is therefore I rejoice that the rights of Ireland have been discussed; the discussion has opened the eyes of men from the sleep of a century, has called upon almost every principal man of the Representatives of the people, and by far the greater part of the Constituents, to deny the right of any foreign Legislature; is now extending the same declaration through the great associations of this Kingdom, and will finally root out of this realm every remnant of the assumed authority of the British Parliament.

I am happy to find you concur with me in thinking, that Liberty is the great bond which keeps Great Britain and Ireland inseparably united. We are attached, not yoked, to the British Nation: we were originally connected with England by common privileges, and by the same, will that connection be rendered indissoluble. A Slave to the Supremacy of the British Parliament, Ireland must be an Enemy to British Liberty, and join the Minister to demolish her system of government, that all his Majesty's subjects might be sunk into a state of equality. *I conceive the Liberty of Ireland an additional security to the freedom of England*, who, instead of jaded professions of loyalty from a plundered province, will now receive the animated affections of a free people.

As a friend to the constitution of both Kingdoms, and to a lasting and honourable coalition, I am happy to be enrolled with men of your Spirit and your principles.

I have the Honour to be
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

SIR,

I AM desired by the Fethard Independents to return you their warmest thanks for your uniformly upright conduct in Parliament, and particularly for your spirited exertion on the 19th of April last, in support of the rights and liberties of this Kingdom.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient humble Servant,
MATTHEW JACOB, Major.

Fethard, near Clonmell,
May 3rd, 1780.

At a General Meeting of the Fethard Independents, held the 2d of May, 1780.

Major JACOB in the Chair.

It was unanimously resolved, That Henry Grattan and Barry Yelverton, Esq. have merited the warmest thanks of this Corps for their uniformly upright conduct in Parliament, and particularly for their spirited exertions on the 19th and 26th of April last, in support of the rights and liberties of this Kingdom; and that the same be transmitted to them by Major Jacob, and printed in the Dublin Evening Post, and Clonmell Gazette.

MATTHEW JACOB, Major.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Sir,

I have just received your Letter, and do request you will assure the Fethard Independents, how sensible I am of their approbation, and how confirmed I find myself in the pursuit of the rights of this Country, when so generously rewarded by the thanks of my fellow subjects, and supported by their spirit.

I am, Sir,
With great respect,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dorset Street, Dublin,
May 12th, 1780.

To Matthew Jacob, Esq.
Major of the Fethard Independents.

At a Meeting of the Officers of the Barony of Strabane Battalion, the 6th of May, 1780.

Lieutenant-Colonel CHARLETON in the Chair.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

Amidst the acclamations of your virtuous fellow Citizens, the members who compose the Barony of Strabane Battalion are ambitious that their tribute of praise should be distinctly heard:—conspicuous abilities, directed by a warm and generous attachment to the public welfare, have marked on every occasion your parliamentary conduct; but never did you appear in so honourable a point of view, never were the friends of liberty so much indebted to your exertions, as on the late important day, when, as a Senator, you moved in your place, "That the King, Lords, and "Commons of Ireland, are the only Power competent to make "Laws to bind us."

This position, the truth of which no one who claims the name of Irishman is base enough to deny, you ably supported through the course of a long debate, and sanctified by your vote. This, Sir, was an admirable exertion of patriotism, we honour you for it;

and, as the only reward we can bestow, beg leave to assure you in this public manner, that we feel it with the liveliest sentiments of gratitude.

RICHARD CHARLETON, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

VERY early, when political questions were discussed, you began by publishing your free constitutional sentiments, and advanced the great cause of Ireland by resolutions seasonable, manly, and judicious; I read them with pleasure, and found there was a true and decided spirit in the Kingdom, which rendered it safe and expedient for the representatives of the people to assert their freedom: your present address breathes the same sentiment, and spreads and invigorates the same great principle. Men feeling as you do, and speaking as you do, will effectually emancipate Ireland, and make the most timid man think it safe to be free, and the most shameless man blush at being a slave. I am not afraid to hear great bodies of true-born Irishmen speak out upon their rights and privileges; on such a topic, their silence would be formidable, and their decision safety.

Feeling how much you over-value my merits, and unable to say any thing on that head, let me subscribe a person proud of being your fellow subject,

HENRY GRATTAN.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR, Londonderry, May 7th, 1780.

BY desire of the Londonderry Battalion, I take the liberty of enclosing to you their resolutions of the 4th instant, which they present as testimonies of their gratitude to the men who so ably pleaded the cause of their Country, and as pledges of their future endeavours to support such measures.

I have the honour to be,
With respectful esteem,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
WILLIAM PATTERSON, Secretary.

A sudden and indispensable call out of town prevented me of the pleasure of addressing you a post sooner, which I trust will be accepted as a sufficient apolgy for the delay.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

WE rejoice that the Parliament hath unanimously declared to our Sovereign the grievances of His loyal subjects in Ireland. We rest in confidence that those grievances will *now* be redressed;

and we feel our obligations to the spirited and persevering Assertor of our rights. Finish what you have so ably begun. See our grievances effectually redressed, — our rights fully established. In this great work we are determined to support you with our lives and fortunes.

We are unable to do justice to merit which will be admired and venerated by posterity. Accept, Sir, our thanks as a testimony of our gratitude; may you long enjoy the tribute of praise, esteem, and affection, due by a generous people to the zealous champion of their liberties!

JOHN FERGUSON, Captain of the Londonderry
Independent Volunteer Company.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I RETURN you many thanks for the honour you have done me. I am glad to find the principle of the declaration I moved in Parliament, so generally adopted and so publicly maintained.

The cause of Liberty receives succour from the resolution you make, and those who supported it the highest honour — the approbation of their fellow subjects.

I am with great respect and gratitude,
Your humble servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dorset Street,
12th May 1780.

GOLDSMITHS' CORPS.

AT a full Meeting of the Goldsmiths' Corps of Dublin Volunteers, held at Goldsmiths' Hall, May 9th, 1780, the following Resolutions were agreed to.

RESOLVED, That we would be wanting in that public spirit which so eminently distinguish Irishmen, did we omit this opportunity of returning our most sincere Thanks to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. for his strenuous endeavours to obtain a Declaratory Law, "that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only were competent to make Laws to bind this Country."

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Corps be likewise returned to BARRY YELVERTON, Esq. for his steady adherence to the interest of this Country, and in particular for his spirited motion to obtain a modification of Poyning's Law.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Company be returned to the different Corps of Horse and Foot, for their obliging attendance this day at the General Review of the associated Corps of this City.

Signed by Order,
NATHAN. MURRAY, Sec. to G. C.

AT a General Meeting of the Cork Union, held at the City Court House the 10th day of May 1780.

HENRY HICKMAN, Captain Commandant, in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously voted

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

WE, the Cork Union, one of the armed societies of this city, beg leave in this public manner to return you our most warm and sincere Thanks, for your manly, steady, and upright support of the rights and liberties of this Kingdom on all occasions, particularly on the 19th day of April last, by moving a resolution "That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the "only Power competent to make Laws to bind this Kingdom."

Gratitude also to those worthy members who supported you on that important question, induces us to request you will convey to them the assurance of the high opinion we entertain of such truly upright and patriotic conduct.

Resolved, that the said Address be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. by such members of the Union as are now in Dublin, and that they publish the same together with his answer in the Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by Order,
JAMES GREGG, Secretary.

THOLSEL, DUBLIN.

AT a very numerous Meeting of the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen, and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, on Thursday the 11th day of May, 1780, held pursuant to public notice.

The High Sheriffs in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That our sincere Thanks be presented in the most respectful manner to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. for his well directed motion in Parliament, on the 19th day of April last, "That the King's Most Excellent Majesty and the Lords and "Commons of Ireland are the only Power competent to enact Laws "to bind this Kingdom," and to the ninety-eight gentlemen who supported that great constitutional assertion.

WILLIAM JAMES, }
JOHN EXSHAW. } Sheriffs.

DUBLIN INDEPENDENTS.

AT a full Meeting of the Corps on Thursday, May 11th, 1780.

MICHAEL WOODS, Esq. in the Chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the sincere Thanks of this Corps be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. for his strenuous and manly endeavours, on the 19th of April last, to obtain a declaration of Rights, "That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the "only Power competent to make Laws to bind this Kingdom."

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I RETURN you my most sincere thanks for the honour you have conferred upon me, and the service you have done the cause of liberty by an explicit declaration of your sentiments in favour of the rights of your Country. Sentiments so just becoming general will give our constitution a strength and our Country a reputation, which will distinguish for ever the present times, and I hope perpetuate the name and liberties of Ireland.

I have the Honour to be,
Your most obliged and humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dorset Street,
May 13th, 1780.

CLANRICARDE CAVALRY.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

THE chastity of your conduct, whenever the dignity of the constitution has been agitated in Parliament, and particularly your late vigorous exertions and zealous endeavours to extirpate foreign and unrepresented tyranny from this our native land, call upon us to join in that universal burst of applause so merited by you. The firmness of the people cannot fail stemming the torrent of influence that has so fatally and so powerfully operated on some of their confidential servants. The King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland are the only power we are determined ever to obey, and for promoting those constitutional principles, be pleased to receive our most grateful and sincere thanks.

Signed by Order of the Clanricarde Cavalry,
PETER D'ARCY, Captain of the Clanricarde Cavalry.

Knockbarron,
May 15th, 1780.

AT a General Meeting of the Independent Volunteer Companies of the City of Waterford, Nos 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5, convened at the Exchange on Friday, 12th May, 1780.

Mr. HENRY TANDY in the Chair.

IT was unanimously resolved, That addresses should be presented to the Representatives of this City in Parliament and to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq., and the following being read was agreed to.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

WE the Independent Volunteer Companies of the City of Waterford, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5, deeply impressed with a grateful sense of the obligation every Irishman lies under to you for the noble and spirited exertion of your abilities in Parliament, in asserting with the most manly and unanswerable eloquence, the natural and unalienable rights of your native Country, and fully convinced that equal Liberty is the cement which would most firmly unite us with our sister Kingdom, think it necessary publicly to declare our entire approbation of, and we request you will accept our unfeigned thanks for your motion on Wednesday the 19th inst. in the House of Commons, " That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, are competent to make laws for the government of this Kingdom."

Signed by Order,
HENRY TANDY.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR public declaration in favour of my motion, and the very honourable mention of my endeavours to establish it, can be only answered by assuring you how much I feel the cause served, and myself overrated by your spirited and generous address. To propagate the principles you declare, and to meet the approbation of such respectable men as you are, is to do the public a service, and to receive a most honourable reward.

I am with much respect, and thanks,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

AT a General Quarterly Meeting of the Galway Volunteers, held at the Tholsel in Galway, on Friday the 12th day of May, 1780, the following Resolution was unanimously agreed to.

PATRICK BLAKE, of Drum, Esq. in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That the Thanks of this Corps be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq, as a publick testimony of the obligations we owe to his distinguished patriotism, in ably asserting " That the King, " Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are alone competent to make " laws to bind this Kingdom ;" we acknowledge no other jurisdiction, and will cheerfully co-operate in every measure, to frustrate the idea of a foreign legislation.

Signed by Order,
JOHN BERGAN, Secretary.

Resolved, That Colonel Richard Martin be requested to present the above resolution, and that the same be inserted in the Dublin and Galway Evening Posts and Connaught Journal.

CULLODEN SOCIETY of Cork.

AT a general Meeting of the Culloden Society of Cork, holden the 15th May, 1780, it was unanimously agreed that the following Address be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq., and that the Colonel be requested to sign for the whole Corps.

SIR,

WE, the Culloden Society of Cork, long sensible of the eminent services you have rendered to this country, should think ourselves culpable, were we not to join in the general peal of applause, and unite in the public voice of gratitude, which your transcendent abilities and immutable patriotism have excited and called forth amongst all ranks of men.

It is difficult for us to decide, what part of your political conduct claims a superiority of praise; when we take a retrospective view, as inhabitants of a trading City, we must indulge ourselves with a grateful remembrance of your vast exertions to free us from the late *Embargo*, an INFRACTION of JUSTICE, an *Act* of INJURY, which length of time, uninterrupted commerce, and constitutional freedom, can alone impair.

On a more recent juncture, when this Kingdom, exhausted by various restraints, (an accumulation of ages!) called aloud for redress, you, Sir, were the foremost to promote an address to the throne, truly and faithfully describing the wretched state of this country, dutifully, yet firmly demanding a restitution of commercial rights; the uniformity of your subsequent conduct on the 24th and 25th of November, we recollect with the most perfect satisfaction: the fortunate effects of such great efforts have clearly evinced the rectitude of your intentions.

But what applause can be adequate! what thanks can be sufficient, for that powerful and persuasive eloquence, that liberal and extensive knowledge, that firm and unabating zeal, which you eminently displayed on the 19th April to obtain a DECLARATION OF RIGHTS for this Realm, and though you failed in the completion of your wishes, yet the sentiments you inspired, and the declarations you forced from many zealous advocates of British Usurpation, we trust, will deter every description of men, from attempting to exercise any power over this Kingdom, but such as shall have received the sanction of our own legislature, the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland. But should political fanatics ever dare so great an outrage on our liberties, perish that Irishman, who will not risk his life in repelling such a violation of his Rights.

Signed at the request of the Culloden Society.

BEN. BOUSFIELD, Colonel.

To HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.
Member of Parliament for the Borough of Charlemount.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR Address, conceived in expressions of such warm approbation, and delivered to me by a noble person, whose public fire, steady patriotism, effectual support, and illustrious name, confer new honour, lay me under obligations I want words to express.

I saw with concern, that ruinous act of power and impartiality, the embargo, wasting this country for a series of years. I hope its experienced mischief will prevent its repetition, and that a free and uninterrupted trade will repair the pernicious effects of that lawless measure.

I perceived we had arrived to that crisis of distress, when it became necessary for Ireland to speak to the Throne, and to convey her own sentiments on two great national subjects, *Trade* and *Liberty;* and though the latter sentiment had not the good fortune to be clothed in the form of a resolution, yet it was so expressed, as to be very intelligible.

No British Minister will now, I should hope, be mad enough to attempt, nor servant of government desperate enough to execute, nor Irish subject mean enough not to resist by every means in his power, a *British Act of Parliament.*

Thus is our connexion founded upon principle, which before was founded on power, and a security not only given to the liberty of Ireland, but a refuge and appeal afforded to the constitution of our great sister, if her rights should be ever invaded.

I have done but my duty, in discharge of which I have been most honourably supported and nobly rewarded.

Your concurrence in the principle, your zeal in the cause, and the generous effusions of your approbation, are so many links of new attachment to the public service, and further obligations upon me to support and advance it.

I have the Honour to be, with the greatest respect,
Your most obedient and humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dorset Street.

At a full Meeting of the Newcastle and Donore Union, held May 16th, 1780.

Captain VERSCHOYLE in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Resolved, That we are of opinion that the real interest and prosperity of Great Britain and Ireland must for ever consist in their being united under the same King by the intimate ties of connexion and friendship with each other.

That we are of opinion that this connexion, in order to be sincere, perfect, and such as shall for ever bring the united strength of these kingdoms into action for every national purpose, shall be found in an equal participation of a free constitution and free commerce. Blessings, of which we are persuaded that no nation has a right to deprive another, and which no generation of men have power to give away from their posterity. That we do pledge ourselves, each man for himself and one to another, by every tie which can bind the citizen and soldier, to unite against the common enemy of our king and country, and in support of the constitutional rights of this kingdom and of the ancient independence of the Legislature of Ireland.

On these principles we are of opinion that the grateful Thanks of every true friend to his king and country are justly due to the Right Honourable Lords Carysfort, Arran, Charlemont, Moira, Eyre, and Mountnorris, for their wise, free, and upright conduct on the 2d of March last, and their patriotic vindication of the people of Ireland from an unmerited reproach.

That the grateful Thanks of every true friend to his king and country are justly due to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. for his distinguished exertion of patriotism and abilities, and to those wise, free, and upright senators who supported his motion on the 19th day of April last.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I RETURN you many thanks for the honour you have done me, I am much flattered by such favours from my fellow subjects.

And am, with much respect,
Your most obedient and humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

AT a Meeting of the Clanwilliam Union Light Dragoons at Parade, on Tuesday the 16th of May, 1780.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the sincere Thanks of this Corps be presented in the most respectful manner, to HENRY GRATTAN, Esquire, for his constitutional motion in the House of Commons in Ireland, on the 19th day of April last: "That the King's Most "Excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, are "the only Power competent to enact Laws to bind this Kingdom;" and for his constant and spirited exertions in Parliament, for the constitutional and commercial welfare of this Kingdom.

Resolved, That the above Address be presented by our Colonel, the Right Honourable the Earl of Clanwilliam,

Signed by Order,
THOMAS RYAN, Sec.

CITY OF WATERFORD.

AT a Meeting of the Royal Oak Volunteers, held on Friday the 19th of May, 1780. Captain JAMES KEARNEY being called to the Chair, it was unanimously resolved to present the following Address to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.

SIR,

YOUR patriotic virtue, your very noble and manly conduct in Parliament, shown on Wednesday the 19th of April, impel us as free Citizens and as independent Volunteers, thus publicly to request your acceptance of our sincerest and most grateful acknowledgements. We should hold ourselves highly culpable did we not express, in this manner, our very high esteem for a man whose behaviour has been so truly meritorious, whose great abilities and public spirit have been so eminently exerted for our Country's welfare.

Resolved unanimously, That our very grateful and unfeigned thanks be presented thus publicly to Barry Yelverton, Esq. for his truly great, patriotic, and disinterested conduct in Parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That our entire approbation and warmest acknowledgements be in this full and public manner, declared to our worthy Representatives Cornelius Bolton and Robert Shapland Carew, Esqs. We early took an opportunity of paying a just tribute to their fidelity and good conduct, and feel ourselves particularly happy at this time, to reiterate our thanks for the praiseworthy, uniform, and upright support they gave to the great and important questions, lately agitated in Parliament, for the Kingdom's benefit and the security of our rights, liberties, and trade.

Ordered, that Copies of these Addresses be signed by the Chairman, and transmitted to the several Gentlemen.

Resolved, That these Addresses be published in the Waterford Papers: The Hibernian Journal, and the Dublin Evening Post.

Ordered, that the Thanks of this Meeting be given to our Chairman, for his unremitted attention to the welfare and military discipline of our Corps.

Signed by Order,

JAMES KEARNEY.

BELFAST UNITED VOLUNTEER COMPANIES.

At a General Meeting of the Belfast United Volunteer Companies, at Belfast, the 22d of May, 1780.

WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That we think it incumbent on us at this time, to express the gratitude we feel, for the steady, spirited, and able parliamentary conduct of Henry Grattan, Esq. and particularly for his patriotic exertions on the 19th of April, to procure a declaration of our rights; which, though in some measure defeated on, what we think, frivolous considerations, called forth an avowal from the Members of the House, individually, that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are exclusively competent to every act of Irish Legislation and Government, and by this we are determined to abide.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

You have done me much honour by your approbation: I rejoice to find the people of Ireland adopt so generally, true constitutional principles.

Your right, as Citizens, to think and speak upon political Liberty, is not lost but secured and rendered effectual, by your becoming the voluntary soldiers of the nation: with pleasure I see your opinions and their propagations.

I have the honour to be, with much respect,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dorset Street,
May 26th, 1780.

At a General Meeting of the United Companies of Lambeg, Lisburne, True Blue, Dunmurray, and Drumbridge Volunteers, on Saturday, 20th of May, 1780, it was unanimously agreed upon, that the following Address be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq., and that Roger Ham. M'Neill, Esq. (General for the day,) do forward the same.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

WE have beheld with gratitude and admiration, your noble and spirited exertions in support of the Constitutional Rights of your Country, and we cannot help expressing our astonishment, that these exertions aided by *truth*, the *voice of the nation*, and the most *persuasive eloquence*, should yet have failed to produce the desired effect.

It is, however, great consolation to observe, in the very respectable minority, who voted for your motion on the 19th of April, the names of all those Senators who have been most remarkable for wisdom, virtue, and inflexible patriotism; and this we consider as a present security for prolonging the *inexpediency* of enforcing a claim, founded upon injustice and the most flagrant violation of the rights of human nature, a claim which we *abhor*, and consistent with that duty we owe to ourselves, our Country, and posterity, we will ever oppose; for we are indeed convinced "that the slave "makes the tyrant."

We, Sir, are none of those "misguided men, who attempt to raise "groundless jealousies in the minds of His Majesty's subjects," * nor do we belong to that class, "who have neither character nor "property to lose, and want to involve their Country in calamity." We detest all such *invidious insinuations;* for though there is no part of the Kingdom, where the military spirit is carried to a higher pitch, or perhaps in the world, where a genuine love of liberty, and a holy reverence for the rights of mankind prevail more than in the North of Ireland; yet we know not a single individual, who comes under the above description.

In forming our associations we have been actuated by purely disinterested motives, — to oppose the depredations of a foreign enemy, that daily threatened to invade and spread desolation over our defenceless Country, — to preserve internal peace, and good order in the state; — but above all, to preserve our birth-rights as freemen, entitled to all the advantages of the English constitution *unviolated;* and we defy the *cankered tongue of malice itself,* to mention one instance in which we have deviated from those resolutions.

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* The expression of one of the ministers, in the debate of that day.

As we have always had the highest respect for your abilities, and that uniformity of virtue which has still marked your public conduct, yet the decided part you took upon the late trying occasion, where the dearest interests of your Country were at stake; and the strenuous efforts you made to establish its freedom upon the firmest basis, has excited in our minds a degree of veneration for your person, integrity, and abilities, that we cannot express.

We request, that you will consider this address, as the spontaneous effusion of grateful minds, and as a mark of our most perfect esteem and approbation.

May you long live to enjoy the sublime feeling, inseparable from the consciousness of having merited and received the applause of a *Nation.*

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

THOUGH my motion was not carried, yet the principle was established; had the declaration of right passed, the sentiment of liberty had been more effectually promulgated, but could not have been more radically felt and generally adopted.

I admire that holy reverence for the rights of mankind, which prevails in the North of Ireland, and her genuine love of liberty. Liberty is a native of the North, transplanted into the South, and now flourishing in every part of the Kingdom.

The sentiments you express, inspiring your associations, and actuating your arms to the execution of the law, the defence of the realm, and the protection of her rights and privileges, form a *species of exalted allegiance.* Your conduct has been conformable to the justice of these sentiments, and both may set at defiance every species of traduction.

Your present declarations I conceive as a record of the spirit of the present age, calculated to warm a future generation, and to manifest those means by which a nation may redeem and retain her liberty.

I have the honour to be,
With great respect and obligation,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dorset Street,
May 23, 1780.

At a Meeting of the Third Company of Newry Volunteers, the 26th day of May, 1780.

Captain DAVID BELL in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously voted to HENRY GRATTAN and BARRY YELVERTON, Esquires.

GENTLEMEN,

IMPRESSED with the liveliest sense of gratitude to such of our Countrymen as have nobly stepped forth in defence of the natural and indubitable rights of this Kingdom, we behold with the greatest pleasure, your manly, spirited, and patriotic conduct through the whole of this most interesting Session of Parliament. But, particularly, your motions on the 19th and 26th of April last, the one declaratory of our rights, "That the King, Lords, and "Commons of Ireland are the only Power competent to make Laws "to bind this Kingdom." The other intended to restore the ancient constitution of our Parliament; and we lament that eminent abilities, conclusive arguments, reason and eloquence, have been only confuted by the hackneyed doctrine of expediency, and the book of numbers.

As Citizens and Soldiers, we hold ourselves bound by every tie of gratitude to you and the illustrious band of Patriots who supported your motions on those days, and though you were not crowned with success, we have, notwithstanding, the firmest hopes and reliance, that the perseverance of the friends of liberty and the constitution will in the end prevail, and venality and corruption be banished from this enlightened land.

We should be wanting in that regard which we owe to ourselves, to our Country, and to posterity, if we omitted to pay this tribute of applause to the men who have unceasingly exerted such great and distinguished abilities to restore their Country to its inherent rights and privileges, to secure the liberties of their fellow subjects, and to establish a just, wise, honourable, and firm basis of union between this Country and her sister Kingdom; and we doubt not that you, Gentlemen, will persevere in this glorious cause and continue to be, what you now are—an Ornament to your Country, and the delight and admiration of a loyal, virtuous, and brave people.

Signed by Order,

DAVID BELL.

Resolved, That the above Address be presented to HENRY GRATTAN and BARRY YELVERTON, Esquires, by Joseph Pollock, Esq., and that the same be printed in the Dublin Evening Post and Newry Chronicle.

DAVID BELL.

AT a Meeting of the Down Volunteers, the 27th day of May, 1780.

Captain HENRY WEST in the chair.

IT was resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented to HENRY GRATTAN and BARRY YELVERTON, Esquires, and that the same be published in the Dublin Evening Post and Belfast News Letter.

GENTLEMEN,

PERMIT us to do justice to our feelings by joining in the general applause of our virtuous fellow Citizens and Soldiers daily pouring out to your truly great and patriotic conduct in Parliament.

Experience convinces us that civil Liberty is the only stable foundation on which commercial privileges can stand secure. Sources of wealth held out to us, have either been frustrated or at least rendered precarious, by the same servile submission to Government which has hitherto influenced such numbers to prevaricate with the rights and immunities of their country: in support of these rights, and to repel the depredations of a foreign enemy, we took up arms, "*Not to raise groundless jealousies in the minds of His Majesty's subjects.*"* For having both character and property to lose, the description suits not us.

Thankful to the whole band of patriots, who have continued firm in support of the public welfare, in this most interesting Session, once so full of hopes to Irishmen; we cannot but distinguish these who took the lead in asserting the constitutional rights, and Parliamentary independence of this depressed kingdom, and defended them with such ability.

Your conduct in these memorable days the 19th† and 26th‡ of April last, has made impressions of esteem and gratitude on our hearts, which will never be obliterated; and we entreat you to accept this public acknowledgment of them, as a small part of that tribute to which you are entitled from all the inhabitants of Ireland, in common with

Your most respectful and faithful humble Servant,

H. WEST, Chairman.

LIMERICK VOLUNTEERS.

To Henry Grattan, Esq. M. P.

SIR, May 1780.

THE loyal Limerick Volunteers extremely solicitous to give the most decided proof, and to declare in the most public manner the high sense they entertain of the many and great obligations, which, in common with the people of this kingdom, they are under to a man whose uncommon exertions in the cause of liberty and his country, during the greater part of an important Session, would have done honour to the finest ages of Greece or Rome; entreat leave more particularly at this time to return you our most grateful acknowledgments for that manly struggle and those noble exertions, which, in concurrence with the ablest characters in this Kingdom, you made on Wednesday, the 19th of April last, in defence of the dearest and unquestionably inherent rights of Irishmen, rights which, when fully established and secured, must and will be the surest means of uniting for ever the British Empire. Permit us, moreover, to assure you, that how inadequate soever the conclusion of that day was to our expectations or your distinguished efforts, we are determined invariably to adhere to and support those rights as asserted in the resolutions you proposed. We likewise embrace, with infinite satisfaction, the advice that your answer to the lawyers' corps holds out to us, asserting this our declaration of rights similar to, and under the sanction of, that truly respectable, and in every sense constitutional association.

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* The expression of one of the Ministers in the House of Commons.

† The motion on the Declaration of Right.

‡ The motion on the repeal of Poynings Law.

Signed by Order,
WILLIAM HARTNEY, Chairman.

FREEDOM OF LONDONDERRY.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

The corporation of the city of Derry having directed me as their recorder, to present to you a certificate of the freedom of that corporation unanimously voted on Friday the 1st of June; I now wait on you, Sir, to execute this part of my office.

The sense entertained by that independent and free city of your manly, liberal, upright, and powerfully able conduct in Parliament, has, without other solicitation, demanded this distinction in your favour.

The city of Derry thinks herself particularly called upon on every occasion to add her suffrage to the voice of the sons of freedom, and to contribute every encouragement which her approbation can give to those, who, by their public and private conduct, shall prove themselves virtuous citizens and genuine friends of this country.

As such she looks on you, with particular respect, and has admitted you to a participation of her rights and privileges as the strongest mark she can bestow of her attachment and confidence.

To me, Sir, it is peculiarly acceptable to have this opportunity of showing my sense of a character, for which I have long entertained the warmest sentiments of private affection and public respect. Happy in finding the opinion of that distinguished city perfectly consonant to my own on this as on every former occasion.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With perfect esteem,
Your most obedient Servant,
ROBERT BOYD.

Chatham Street,
6th June, 1780.

AT a General Meeting of the Troop of Newry Rangers, and the First Company of Newry Volunteers.

Captain BENSON in the chair.

June 30th, 1780.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the following Address be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. on Monday next, the 3d of July, as he passes through this Town to the Belfast Review, by our Chairman.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

WE should not so long have denied ourselves the honour of thus expressing the share we take in the gratitude of a nation, had we not waited for this opportunity of paying, at the same moment, our personal respects to you and your noble friend the Earl of Charlemont.

We thought that our tribute of gratitude to public virtue, could not be less pleasing for being at the same time a tribute to the dignity of private friendship. The friendship of such men is not more honourable to themselves, than it is useful to their country.

Though we regret, Sir, that your exertions in the public cause, have not always had that success which their spirit deserved, and their ability might have been expected to command, yet we cannot but applaud your foresight, which, upon one great occasion, saw victory even in defeat.

Though the majority of the House of Commons chose rather to honour themselves as individuals, than as representatives of the people, yet their declarations as individuals, gave strength to that principle in which the people are now unanimous.

By this unanimity, to which you, Sir, have so highly contributed, we see at once our country emancipated, and the principles which we have formerly declared, relieved from imputation. That could not be *Sedition* whose spirit we conceive, has been sanctfied by MR. GRATTAN, and a Parliamentary Declaration of which, has been demanded by the *Nation.*

That could not be sedition, which but led to a Declaration of *the Law of this Kingdom*, which we now see revived, and which, as part of a great national body, we now run little risk in resolving to support,—That " the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the *only* Power competent to make Laws to bind this Kingdom.

Signed by Order,
THOMAS BENSON,
Captain of the Newry Rangers, Chairman.

FREEHOLDERS OF WATERFORD.

AT a Meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the County of the City of Waterford, on Friday the 7th of July instant, pursuant to Advertisement, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this meeting be presented to our worthy representatives Cornelius Bolton and Robert S. Carew, Esqs. for their manly, firm and patriotic conduct in supporting the Constitutional Rights and Parliamentary Independence of this Kingdom. And that they are hereby requested to give their best assistance, through every stage, in favor of the Bill, now depending for the relief of the Tenantry of this Kingdom.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Meeting, be given to Henry Grattan, Esq. and the gentlemen who supported the heads of the above mentioned Bill, on the 12th of last June; and they are hereby earnestly requested to continue their support on the return of said Bill from England, which will ever be held in grateful remembrance.

Resolved, That the Thanks of this Meeting, be given to John Usher and Samuel King, Esqs. our worthy Sheriffs, for their ready concurrence in convening the Electors at all times when applied to, and that they be requested to transmit the above Resolutions, to the respectable Persons to whom they are addressed.

Resolved, That the above Resolutions be printed in the Waterford Paper and Dublin Evening Post.

JOHN USHER, } Sheriffs, in the chair.
SAMUEL KING, }

Waterford, 8th July, 1780.

Sir,

We beg leave to convey to you the unanimous Resolutions of a very respectable Meeting of the Electors of the City of Waterford, by convening of whom, we are happy to be instrumental in bestowing on you that mark of their approbation, which your manly, firm, and patriotic conduct has on all occasions so justly merited.

We are, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servants,
JOHN USHER, } Sheriffs.
SAMUEL KING, }

Waterford, 8th July. 1780.

NEWTOWN & CASTLECOMBER BATTALION.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

4th July, 1780.

When so many virtuous citizens are disclaiming the usurped authority of an external legislature, and avowing boldly and honourably, their ideas of our constitutional rights, we should feel ourselves truants indeed to the cause of freedom, and remiss in that duty we owe the community and ourselves, were we not to join in openly declaring our firm purpose, never to acknowledge or acquiesce in the right of any power to bind this Realm, save only the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, and holding this a position of the most sacred nature, we conceive it must be maintained inviolate, to give any permanency to commercial advantages, ceded under the frail and fallacious tenure of expediency. Your virtuous and powerful effort, to get this important truth recorded on the Journals of Parliament, has gained our highest admiration; and though unsuccessful in this point, we cannot deem your voice to have been raised in vain, for the wisdom of your words has been re-echoed through the Land, and wonderfully contributed to awaken in the breasts of Irishmen, a just sense of their undoubted claim to independence. In this particular and all the rest of your parliamentary conduct, you have greatly served your country, and if any thing can add to the refined satisfaction this reflection affords you, it must be the universal and generous applause of the wise and good pouring out their acknowledgements of gratitude in the warmest language of the heart.

Happy are we to have this opportunity of offering our small tribute of praise, to a character so distinguished for approved worth and eminent abilities.

ROBERT STEWART, Captain Commandant.

Resolved, That the foregoing address be signed by our Captain Commandant, and presented to Henry Grattan, Esq. as the unanimous address of the Newtown and Comber Battalion.

Parade, July 11th, 1780.

INDEPENDENT DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

At a full Meeting of the Corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers: THOMAS ASHWORTH, Esq. Captain Commandant, in the Chair

The following Address was unanimously agreed to:

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

At a period when public virtue is without sense of shame, sacrificed to private advantage and emolument, it behoves every friend of his country to point out the men whose principles are incorruptible, and whose judgment may be relied on in the hour of danger. Amongst the number of such real ornaments to Society, we consider you, and in token of our approbation have unanimously elected you as honourary member of the Independent Dublin Volunteers.

We have every reason to hope that you will not refuse us the honour of enrolling your name amongst us, we trust our virtue, like yours, is untainted by the prevalent hypocrisy of patriotism, and you may rely on our joint efforts to give every support to your endeavours for the public good.

Signed by Order,
KILNER BAKER, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

This fresh instance of honour which I have received from your corps, adds to the obligations I already acknowledged. I accept the favour with much gratitude. *To be this kingdom's sincere* *and uniform friend, is my great ambition.* I am aware how much her situation is improved, but with you, must acknowledge that the conclusion of this Session has not been worthy of its commencement. I see with concern an unnatural and idle contest instituted between Parliament and its best friends, a contest, the fruit of two unfortunate measures that marked the close of the Session, and having opposed both these measures which seem to have sunk in the public estimation, the dignity of Parliament, it shall be my care to raise her credit by proposing the next Session to limit the duration of the mutiny bill, and to secure to the House of Commons her best and dearest privileges, the confidence of the nation; and also put an end to a disgusting conflict where administration first incenses the people by forcing upon them an unconstitutional law, and hopes to punish them afterwards, by impotent prosecutions. You are pleased in your letter to me to offer your assistance. I am thankful to you for it. There is no mischief that may not be removed by the constitutional interposition of the free and Independent Electors of this Kingdom.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your much obliged and humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

August, 30th, 1780.

AT a full Meeting of the Ballymascanlon Rangers, on Sunday the 3d of September, 1780.

ROBERT M'NEALE, Esq. Captain, in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the following address be presented to the Right Hon. WALTER HUSSEY BURGH, BARRY YELVERTON, and HENRY GRATTAN, Esqrs.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVING long considered ourselves individually indebted to your patriot spirit and powerful abilities in Parliament, and being now formed into a Volunteer Corps for the great purpose of assisting to preserve the Kingdom and constitution of Ireland, we think it one of our first acts of duty to follow the example of those worthy men who have rendered themselves more respectable by their public approbation of you.

Permit us, therefore, Gentlemen, to offer you our warm and grateful acknowledgments, and to assure you we feel convinced that while we have virtue to applaud your services we shall never be defective in our own.

Resolved unanimously, That our worthy Brother Richard Sheridan, Esq. for whose private and public character we entertain the highest esteem be requested to present the foregoing address.

Signed by Order,
TARQUIN P. M'NEALE, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM very thankful to you for your obliging address. I am glad to see the increase of the Volunteer associations and that a corps of your principles is added to the number.

I am, Gentlemen,
With much sincerity,
Your humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Celbridge, Oct. 1st, 1780.

ROYAL EXCHANGE.

4th September, 1781.

At a Meeting of the corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers.

SAMUEL CANIER, Esq. Major, in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, that the following Address be presented to Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

Taking again into our consideration your many and able, (though hitherto unsuccessful) efforts to restore to your native country, those rights and privileges which heaven ordained her to enjoy, and eager to participate in the glorious cause, we have once more unanimously elected you Colonel of the Independent Dublin Volunteers, judging it the most effectual method of further convincing the world of our attachment to our country, by calling upon one of her ablest sons in the cause of freedom to command us, reserving to ourselves, at the same time the privilege of freemen,—the power of electing quarterly.

The approaching sessions of Parliament promising great events, we have no doubt but you will exert your wonted abilities in demanding a declaration of rights. The modification of Poynings Law, the repeal of the mutiny bill, and also the equalization of our sugar duties. Being determined, as Freemen, to give every constitutional support to the promotion of the above laws, so we are *resolved* as soldiers to give every assistance against any foreign or domestic enemy who shall dare attempt to violate them.

Signed by Order,
CHARLES PIGOT, Secretary.

ULSTER REGIMENT.

At a general Meeting of the Officers and Delegates of the Ulster Regiment, agreeable to notice given at Lisburn on Tuesday the 27th of November, 1781.

The Honorable Colonel ROWLEY in the chair.

The following address was voted *nem. con.* and ordered to be published:

To Henry Grattan, Esq. and the virtuous minority who supported his motion in the House of Commons, the 10*th of November for the amendment of the Mutiny Bill.*

Gentlemen,

We, the Officers and privates of the Ulster regiment, think it our duty to declare in this public manner, our unanimous and warm approbation of your constitutional and truly patriotic support of the motion for the amendment and limitation of the mutiny Bill. Accept then Gentlemen the grateful and voluntary thanks of a number of freeholders and electors enlisted in the service of their country, for your behaviour in the day of trial on this important occasion, at the same time they wish to express the high veneration they have for the abilities and spirit with which this attempt for liberty and independence was conducted and supported, and live in hopes that your virtuous efforts in the same cause, as they are always sure of the applause of your country, will on some future occasion be crowned with that success, which, in their opinion, every honest Irishman should most ardently wish for, and we do bind ourselves by the most solemn ties not to vote for, or in any manner support at the ensuing General Election, one or any of these who intentionally absented themselves or opposed you in your glorious, though unsuccessful efforts that night in the service of your constituents, and of the body of your countrymen.

Signed by Order,
JAMES READ, S. T.
Captain, Maghragale Volunteers.

Lisburn, November 27th, 1781.

FIRST NEWRY REGIMENT.

At Meetings between the 4th and 13th instant of the Volunteer corps composing the first Newry Regiment, or Newry Legion:

Resolved by each corps for itself unanimously, that the following resolution be published, and that the address underneath be presented to the gentlemen particularly named, and published with their answers, the resolution and address being signed by the field Officers and Captains of the Regiment:

Address.

To Henry Grattan, *Esq. who, on the* 10th *of November last, moved for an amendment or repeal of the perpetual mutiny law; The Right honourable* Henry Flood, *who, on the* 29th *of the same month, moved for heads of a bill intended for the same purpose, and to the Gentlemen of the House of Commons who supported these motions.*

Gentlemen,

Confirmed and strengthened in the opinions we have so often expressed, we cannot avoid returning you our warmest acknowledgments for your late strenuous though unsuccessful endeavours to restore to this kingdom her rightful constitution.

You have not misrepresented, you have done but justice to the sense of the people, we shall cherish this opinion, and we entreat you, Gentlemen, to persevere in acting upon it, until at least there is produced a body of men who will declare that they prefer a perpetual to a limited mutiny law, or a single member of the House of Commons, possessing character to lose, who will declare that had he his choice, he would do so.

When the British constitution is altered, a reason we conceive should be given for the innovation, we have heard of none that has been here attempted save one, which if well founded, betrays the principles of the British minister, and whether well founded or not, is an insult to this nation. The minister it seems should be spared the mortification of acknowledging every Session the independence of our legislature, if this acknowledgment be a sore place with the British minister, we conceive it is your duty, Gentlemen, as Irishmen and Irish senators, to touch it until it can bear the touch; nor can we admit the old prejudices of the minister, if such prejudices he has, to be entitled to tenderness, until the independence of this kingdom be once for all and in direct terms, acknowledged by a declaratory act, or until the British statutes pretending to bind this kingdom, are repealed.

Signed.

SAMUEL BARBER, Captain of the Rathfriland Volunteers and now Colonel of the Regiment.
ANDREW THOMPSON, Captain of the Troop of Newry Rangers, and now a Major of the Regiment.
JOSEPH POLLOCK, Captain of the first Newry Volunteers.
GEORGE GORDON, Captain of the Donoughmore Volunteers.
WILLIAM GORDON, Captain of the Sheep Bridge Volunteers.
DAVID BELL, Captain of the Newry Fencibles.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE ever contemplated with the utmost abhorrence, the perpetual mutiny bill. I met it at first with astonishment and indignation, and have encountered it in every stage with the most cordial detestation.

I conceived it an affront to our nation, a stab to her liberty, and a mockery of her public spirit. Confirmed in this opinion by the arguments advanced in support of the measure; I shall persist to encounter its malignity with renovated determination, and in the sincere hope, that a law cannot remain unexplained and unamended which stands convicted by every principle of every free nation in the world.

I enter most entirely into those virtuous, and I will add, moderate and humble, wishes, which go to the establishment of your parliamentary independence. I am so fully possessed of your ancient and invaluable title to British privileges, that *I conceive any thing short of the British constitution is short of your rights*, and an insolent distinction between two kingdoms whose subjects are equal by nature, equal by franchise, certain to be involved in the same calamities, and therefore entitled to be consoled by the same privileges; in this creed and confidence I shall not cease to hope that the time is at hand when a total renunciation of supremacy or assertion of parliamentary independency shall be obtained.

The crisis, the interest of England, the moderated exertions of Ireland, and the connection of both, promise and demand it; in my humble province I shall not be wanting,

And am,
With the most sincere respect,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

15th December, 1781.

DUNGANNON MEETING.

ULSTER VOLUNTEERS

At a Meeting of the representatives of 143 corps of Volunteers, of the province of Ulster, held at Dungannon, on Friday the 15th of February, 1782.

Colonel WILLIAM IRVINE in the chair.

Whereas, it has been asserted that Volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate, or publish their opinions, on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament or public men.

Resolved, unanimously, That *a citizen by learning the use of arms does not abandon any of his civil rights.*

Resolved, unanimously, That a claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords and Commons of *Ireland*, to make laws to bind this kingdom, is unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved, *(with one dissenting voice only,)* That the powers exercised by the Privy Councils of both kingdoms, under, or under colour, or pretence of, the law of Poyning's, are unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved, unanimously, That the ports of this country are by right open to *all* foreign countries not at war with the King, and that any burden thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance.

Resolved, *(with one dissenting voice only,)* That a *Mutiny Bill, not limited* in point of duration, from session to session, is *unconstitutional, and a grievance.*

Resolved, unanimously, That *the independence of Judges* is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right to Ireland, makes a distinction where there should be no distinction, may excite jealousy where perfect union should prevail, and is in itself unconstitutional, and a grievance.

Resolved, (*with eleven dissenting voices only,*) That it is our decided and unalterable determination to seek a redress of these grievances, and we pledge ourselves to each other and to our country, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that we will, at every ensuing election, support those only who have supported and will support us therein, and that we will use all constitutional means to make such our pursuit of redress speedy and effectual.

Resolved, (*with one dissenting voice only,*) That the Right Hon. and Hon. the Minority in Parliament, who have supported these our constitutional rights, are entitled to our most grateful thanks, and that the annexed Address be signed by the Chairman, and published with these Resolutions.

Resolved, unanimously, That four members from each county of the province of Ulster, eleven to be a quorum, be and are hereby appointed a committee, till the next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps here represented, and, as occasion shall require, to call general meetings of the province, viz.

The Lord Viscount Enniskillen,
Colonel Mervyn Archdall,
Colonel William Irvine,
Colonel Robert M'Clintock,
Colonel John Ferguson,
Colonel John Montgomery,
Colonel Charles Leslie,
Colonel Francis Lucas,
Colonel Thomas Morris Jones,
Colonel James Hamilton,
Colonel Andrew Thompson,
Lieutenant Colonel C. Nesbitt,
Lieutenant Colonel A. Stewart,
Major James Patterson,
Major Francis Dobbs,
Major James M'Clintock,
Major Charles Duffen,
Captain Jon. Harvey,
Captain Robert Campbell,
Captain Joseph Pollock,
Captain Waddel Cunningham,
Captain Francis Evans,
Captain John Cope,
Captain James Dawson,
Captain James Acheson,
Captain Daniel Eccles,
Captain Thomas Dickson,
Captain David Bell,
Captain John Coulson,
Captain Robert Black,
Rev. William Crawford,
Mr. Robert Thompson.

Resolved, unanimously, That said committee do appoint nine of their members to be a committee in Dublin, in order to communicate with such other volunteer associations in the other provinces as may think proper to come to similar resolutions, and to deliberate with them on the most constitutional means of carrying them into effect.

In consequence of the above resolution, the committee have appointed the following gentlemen for said committee, three to be a quorum, viz.

Colonel Mervyn Archdall,
Colonel William Irvine,
Colonel John Montgomery,
Colonel Thomas Morris Jones,
Major Francis Dobbs,
Captain Francis Evans,
Captain James Dawson,
Captain Joseph Pollock,
Mr. Robert Thompson.

Resolved, unanimously, That the Committee be, and are hereby instructed to call a general meeting of the province within twelve months from this day, or in fourteen days after the dissolution of the present Parliament, should such an event sooner take place.

Resolved, unanimously, That the Court of Portugal have acted towards this kingdom, being a part of the British empire, in such a manner, as to call upon us to declare and pledge ourselves to each other, that we will *not consume any Wine of the growth of Portugal*, and that we will, to the extent of our influence, prevent the use of said Wine, save and except the Wine at present in this kingdom, until such time as our exports shall be received in the kingdom of Portugal, as the manufactures of part of the British Empire.

Resolved, (with two dissenting voices only, to this and the following resolution,) That we hold the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others as ourselves.

Resolved, therefore, That, *as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the penal law against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.*

Resolved, unanimously, That the Dundalk Independent Troop of Light Dragoons, commanded by Captain Thomas Read, having joined a regiment of this province, the 1st Newry regiment or Newry Legion, and petitioning to be received as part of this body, and under its protection, is accordingly hereby received.

Whereas a letter has been received by the Chairman of this meeting from the united corps of the county of Cavan, Colonel ENERY in the Chair, declaring their readiness to co-operate with their brother volunteers, in every constitutional support of their rights.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the said united corps of said county of Cavan, for their spirited resolution, and that a copy of the proceedings of this meeting be inclosed by the chairman to Colonel Enery, to be by him communicated to the said united corps, and that they shall have a right, if they choose, to be associated with the corps represented at this meeting, to nominate four members to act with those already appointed as a committee by the delegates at this meeting.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Captain Richardson and the Dungannon Light Company, for their politeness in mounting guard this day.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Southern Battalion of the 1st Ulster Regiment, commanded by the Earl of Charlemont, for that patriotic zeal, which, we are convinced, induced them to call this meeting.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Colonel William Irvine, for his particular propriety and politeness of conduct in the chair.

Resolved, unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Captain James Dawson, for his readiness in undertaking the office of Secretary to this meeting, and for his particular attention and ability in the laborious duty thereof.

To the Right Hon. and Hon. the Minority in both Houses of Parliament

MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

WE thank you for your noble and spirited, though hitherto ineffectual efforts, in defence of the great constitutional and commercial rights of your country. Go on. The almost unanimous voice of the people is with you; and in a free country the voice of the people must prevail. We know our duty to our sovereign, and are loyal. We know our duty to ourselves, and are resolved to be free. We seek for our rights, and no more than our rights; and, in so just a pursuit, we should doubt the being of a Providence if we doubted of success.

Signed by Order,
WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.

In Committee.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the corps of this province, not represented at the meeting held this day, be, and they are hereby invited to join in the resolutions of said meeting, and to become members of the said association on the most equal footing.

Resolved, That such corps as may choose to join the said association, be, and they are hereby requested to communicate their intentions to our secretary, Captain Dawson, Union Lodge, Loughbrickland, who will lay the same before the chairman and committee.

Signed by Order,
WILLIAM IRVINE, Chairman.

AT a full Meeting of the Eyrecourt Buffs, held the 21st April, 1782.

Colonel WALTER LAWRENCE in the chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed on and ordered to be presented by PETER LAWRENCE, Esq. Captain of a Company in said Corps to that distinguished citizen HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.

SIR,

HISTORY, both sacred and profane, informs us that there have been men born to perplex and scourge the human race; but we likewise know that all bounteous heaven, has often in pity to our sufferings, blessed us with assertors of our rights, blessed us with those who fraught with heaven-born virtue, and endowed with extraordinary talents, have boldly stepped forward in behalf of the people of this kingdom, and unmasked that fatal species of tyranny, which, assuming the awful veil of law, has for a century past, not only broke through all the barriers of justice, but in defiance of sense and reason, pretended to bind the people of this country by acts of a foreign legislature, thus falsely and imperiously legalizing oppression.

Such a man, Sir, has Ireland found in HENRY GRATTAN, born to be the instrument of your country's salvation; you met corruption on her own ground, who, coward like, hid her guilty head and shrunk from the splendour, dignity, and irresistible force of your eloquence and virtue.

That army of patriots, Sir, the Volunteers of Ireland, who stand unrivalled in the history of mankind, have declared the rights of Ireland.

Led by their glorious example, and influenced by their support, her Parliament has declared them, the whole kingdom has with one voice declared them, who then or what can deny them?

The torch of freedom is lighted and illumines the Irish nation from the peer to the poorest peasant; nor is it ever to be quenched, but in the blood of its inhabitants.

All Europe, Sir, the friends of legal liberty in every part of the globe, have seen and admired the settled, calm, but determined resolution of a brave people, in behalf of that first of sublunary blessings, and will rejoice in that spirit and unanimity which has put a period to the bondage of a century, and give justice a decisive victory over wrongs; a victory, by restoring to us our ancient and unalienable rights, and re-establishing our constitution on its true principles, must raise these kingdoms to the highest point of happiness and glory.

And here, Sir, permit us to congratulate not only you and the people of this country, but those* of every part of the British empire, on the choice of servants which our beloved Sovereign has been lately pleased to make, as they appear determined (so far as we are hitherto enabled to judge) to make justice, equality, and economy, the settled basis of their administration, disdaining those mean, evasive, and temporizing arts, and disdaining that abominable system of corruption and boundless extravagance, which reduced the people to indigence, by supporting a numerous host of mercenary hirelings and sycophants of power at their expense; engines of infamy, who having no will of their own, sacrificed honour, liberty, and every thing that was dear to man, at the altar of the ministerial high priest, but enough of such noxious beings. May you, Sir, live long to enjoy the most perfect felicities the human mind can possess, the consciousness of having done right, and the blessings of the people; and may they on their parts, regardless of any other consideration but their country's good, ever prove themselves worthy of the blessings of a free constitution, rejecting on every occasion, with becoming indignation, those miscreants, those slavish tools, who have on former occasions betrayed their interests; and may they send those, and those only, to future Parliaments, who, however inferior to you in abilities, will yet imitate your virtues.

WALTER LAWRENCE, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

The warmth, generosity, and force, with which you express your sentiments, that firm and undisguised manner in which you assert your rights, the liberality with which you encourage one, who among others has endeavoured to serve you, demand on my part, the warmest acknowledgements.

A generous country overpays her advocates, and binds them to her service for ever.

You ought to have many friends, for your cause is just, and your sentiments exalted.

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* The Fox party came into power, and the Duke of Portland was sent to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant.

I do entirely coincide with you, in the most sanguine expectations from those councils which his Majesty has called to his assistance, a government that shall found itself on privilege, an administration that shall stand on reduction, must be universally popular and irresistibly powerful.

Europe has seen with approbation our efforts for freedom, she will behold the same nation raising her government above the necessity of corruption, by an emulation of independent support, and thus shall we prove that *privilege is the foundation of order, and purity the strongest engine of power.*

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dublin, April 21st, 1782.

INDEPENDENT DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

At a full Meeting of the Corps of Independent Dublin Volunteers:

Major CANIER in the chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to:

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

Sir,

At a time when every voice is raised to thank you, who ever stood foremost in the cause of liberty, and your country; we, who have the honour of serving under your command, would ill deserve so high a distinction, were we not to add our suffrages to those of an applauding and grateful people, who press forward with a jealous emulation, to express their feelings to you, who have so often, and at length so successfully combated for the rights of this injured nation.

Permit us, therefore, Sir, to say, that we are truly sensible of the many obligations we are under to you, for so nobly introducing, and with such manly eloquence, unequivocally defending the rights of this country; and beg leave to assure you, that, as Citizens and Soldiers, we shall ever remember your unceasing exertions with pleasure.

We know your heart too well, to urge you to persevere; all we have to hope is, that your life may long be spared to your country, to watch over that liberty you were so honourably distinguished in asserting.

SAMUEL CANIER, Chairman.

Resolved, That a Chairman and a Committee do wait on Colonel Grattan with the above Address, and that it be published, with his answer, in the Dublin Evening Post, Saunders's News-Letter, and Hibernian Journal.

The Rev. Mr. MILLER having taken the chair.

Resolved, unanimously, That our Thanks be given to Major Canier, for his constant attention to the discipline of the corps, and his proper conduct in the chair:

Signed by order,
CH. BERKELEY KIPPAX, Secretary.

The Committee having waited upon Col. GRATTAN, he returned the following Answer.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

THE principles which are now likely to become law and constitution, are those which have ever distinguished your corps: I have many reasons which incline me to a personal, as well as a political predilection in favor of the Independent Dublin Volunteers; my knowledge of your sentiments makes your approbation particularly acceptable.

I think I will not forfeit your esteem; I am sure you will always command mine; and that we both shall continue in these sentiments towards each other, is my ardent wish, and sincere opinion.

I am, Gentlemen,
With great respect and thanks,
Your most obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CLONMEL INDEPENDENTS.

AT a full Meeting of the Clonmel Independents, the 21st April, 1782.

Colonel BAGWELL in the chair.

RESOLVED, unanimously, That the unfeigned and most heartfelt thanks of this corps, be given to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. for the steady and invariable exertion of his distinguished abilities, for the purpose of obtaining a redress of the several grievances under which Ireland has long laboured, which we now trust will be speedily effected to the utmost of our wishes, in the establishment of all our constitutional rights.

Resolved, unanimously, That in a particular degree, we conceive ourselves called upon, to render him every possible acknowledgment for his motion in Parliament, on Tuesday the 16th instant, whereby he has gloriously obtained measures, that will for ever perpetuate the name of GRATTAN, in the annals of this kingdom, and in the hearts of a grateful people.

Resolved, That the above resolutions and following address be transmitted to Mr. GRATTAN, by the Chairman, and published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Clonmel Gazette.

JOHN BAGWELL, Chairman.

Clonmel, April 21st, 1782.

SIR,

WITH inexpressible satisfaction, we took the earliest opportunity of returning you our unfeigned thanks, for that unremitted ardour and unshaken perseverance you manifested on every occasion, in support of the liberty of your country, and by which, we hope, you have completely emancipated it.

Every thing to form a perfect character, the 16th of April, 1782, has shown in the person of a GRATTAN, whose name the present, and after ages, must revere as the redeemer of his country.

JOHN BAGWELL, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

THIS testimony of your approbation, is perhaps much more than I have deserved, but what, I think, I will not forfeit.

I hope our constitutional rights will be speedily established—it will be our own fault if they are not so—as the establishment is to be final, so must it be full.

I need not add more words to assure you of my regard and respect, for your sentiments and your privileges.

I am, Gentlemen, with many thanks,
Your humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

SIR,

I received your most obliging and flattering letter, accompanied with the resolutions of the Clonmel Independents.

I send my answer, unequal to express my sense of the honour they have done me. Permit me to return you my most particular thanks.

I am, Sir, with much respect,
Your most obedient and humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

To John Bagwell, Esq.

WATERFORD UNION.

AT a Meeting of the Waterford Union, April 21st, 1782.

Secretary SAMUEL DRAPES in the chair.

RESOLVED, unanimously, That we conceive the great mental abilities of HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. guided as they have been by immutable integrity of heart, and exercised solely for the advantage of this kingdom, are likely to prove the primary cause of measures fraught with the best of consequences to us, and to our latest posterity.

Therefore, resolved, unanimously, That this troop (as Irishmen interested in favour of their dearest rights) do return their most grateful and unfeigned thanks to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. for his steady and uniform parliamentary conduct in support of these measures.

Resolved, unanimously, That HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. be admitted an honorary member of this troop.

Resolved, unanimously, That a copy of these resolutions be transmitted to Thomas Christmas, Esq. our Captain, and that he be requested to present them to Mr. GRATTAN.

Resolved, unanimously, That our secretary be ordered to have these resolutions published in the Dublin Evening Post, and in the Waterford Chronicle.

Signed by order,
SAMUEL DRAPES, Secretary and Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I RETURN you my most sincere thanks, for the honour which you have done me, in admitting me an honorary member of your respectable body. I am to thank you also for the warm expressions in which that honour has been conveyed. I cannot answer in adequate terms the generous spirit you disclose. I can only assure you, that I prize your esteem too much ever to forfeit it.

I am, Gentlemen, with many thanks,
Your most obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

April 27th, 1782.

ANTRIM FREEHOLDERS.

AT a Meeting of the freeholders and other principal members of the ancient congregation of Broad Island, held at Ballycarry in the county of Antrim, on Tuesday the 23d of April, 1782.

The Rev. JOHN BANKHEAD in the Chair.

THE following resolutions were agreed to without a dissenting voice:

That a late statement of national grievances in the Commons House of Parliament, by that honour to his country Mr. GRATTAN, appears to us a full and well timed statement; well timed, for it was immediate, and full, for their removal brings Irish policy within the reach of Hibernia's arm.

That the thanks of this meeting are most respectfully offered to Mr. GRATTAN, for his statement of the grievances of the people of Ireland, to Mr. BROWNLOW for seconding the amendment, and to all the other members present for their unanimous support.

Signed by order,
JOHN BANKHEAD, Chairman.

FIRST NEWRY REGIMENT.

At a Meeting of the First Newry Regiment, or Newry Legion, on the 22d of April, 1782.

Major GORDON in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the address, now approved of, be signed by our chairman, and transmitted to Henry Grattan, Esq.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

We have always beheld with pleasure your noble and spirited endeavours to obtain the rights and redress the grievances of your country. These rights we have now every reason to expect, through your virtue and perseverance, to see restored, and those grievances redressed.

The people have looked up to you, and they have not been deceived. We thank you for your amendment to the address voted to His Majesty on the 16th inst. declaratory of the rights, and expressive of the grievances of this country.

We doubt not your perseverance until we are made a free people, and we renew to you our determination, as citizens and soldiers, to give you every constitutional support in our power.

GEORGE GORDON, Major.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I am obliged to you for the confidence you have placed in me; I hope I will always deserve it. — I thank you for the support you have given the public cause. Men like you deserve to be free, and I trust speedily will be so.

I have the honour to be, with many thanks,
Your most humble and obedient,
HENRY GRATTAN.

WATERFORD VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Artillery and the different Independent Corps of Infantry, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7, of the City of Waterford, held at the Exchange, on Tuesday the 23d of April, 1782.

HENRY TANDY, Esq. was unanimously called to the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented to Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

Impelled by the strongest sentiments of gratitude, which we conceive must animate the breast of every Irishman, we, the

Independent Corps of Artillery and Infantry, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. of the City of Waterford, cannot omit taking the earliest opportunity in our power of expressing our public thanks to you for your unwearied perseverance in the glorious cause of liberty; we have seen, with the greatest satisfaction, your shining abilities employed in a cause that is worthy of them, and are proud to acknowledge our obligations to you.

To a mind like your's, no recompence can be so flattering as the sincere applause of your admiring countrymen, and surely they cannot hesitate to pay a tribute so justly due; you have restored to us every thing which should be dear to men determined to be FREE, and in such a manner as will justly entitle you to the glorious appellation of DELIVERER OF YOUR COUNTRY.

May you, Sir, long live to be a blessing to, as you are the ornament of that country, and to enjoy the heart-felt pleasure resulting from virtuous actions.

Resolved unanimously, That HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. be, and he is hereby admitted an honorary member of the different corps of the City of Waterford.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of the above be transmitted to ROBERT SHAP. CAREW, Esq. and that he be requested to present the same to Mr. GRATTAN.

Resolved unanimously, That these proceedings be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Waterford papers.

Signed by order.
HENRY TANDY.

The chairman having left the chair:

RESOLVED unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Henry Tandy, Esq. for his polite and very impartial conduct in the chair.

Signed by order
JOHN EDGAR, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

THE terms in which you are pleased to express your sense of my conduct, affect me very sensibly. I would wish to be silent, where I cannot with ease find adequate expressions of thanks.

You deserve to be faithfully served, for you are a generous and a noble-minded race of men. I am happy to be one of your body. We are embarked in the same cause, and will adhere to it for ever.

I am, with many thanks,
Your humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CASTLEBAR VOLUNTEERS.

At a General Meeting of the Castlebar Volunteers, on Wednesday the 24th of April.

Lieutenant-Colonel JORDAN in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented to Henry Grattan, Esq. and that it be inserted, together with his Answer, in the public papers.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

The Castlebar Volunteers, a body composed of industrious, but independent men, cannot content themselves with a silent admiration of you — it would require a language like your own to express what they feel; finding that impossible, accept then their unadorned but sincere acknowledgments, their most fervent prayers are offered up to Heaven for the long continuance of your inestimable life, and for your enjoyment of all the blessings of this world. Let fools and knaves be intoxicated with high sounding titles! Grattan, the friend, the benefactor, the saviour of his country, will stand recorded in the annals of Ireland, and in the breasts of Irishmen, till time shall be no more.

EDMOND JORDAN, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

From an independent and industrious body like yours, I receive an address with the greater satisfaction, because those independent and industrious habits are the great source of affluence and freedom — and contain the productive principle of national eminence.

The titles which you bestow are the most honourable that can fall to the lot of man; they are a proof of your generosity, and shall be the object of my emulation.

I am, with respect,
Your most humble obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dublin, May 2.

CURRAGHMORE RANGERS.

At a full Meeting of this troop, at Newtown, in the County of Waterford, on Thursday, the 25th of April, 1782.

Captain SHEE in the chair.

The following address was unanimously agreed to:—

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

Sir,

We count ourselves peculiarly happy in thus publicly returning you our unfeigned thanks for that steadiness and perseverance which has been manifest in your conduct, on every occasion, in support of Ireland's rights and liberties; but particularly on the glorious opportunity that offered on the 16th instant; a day to be ever celebrated by Irishmen, and a day that must hand down to a grateful posterity the exalted name of GRATTAN, with peculiar veneration, as the unremitting supporter and saviour of his country.

Resolved, That Colonel GRATTAN be unanimously admitted an honorary member of this troop.

Resolved, That this address be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Waterford Chronicle.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

EVER an admirer of your principles, and now one of your body, I am to return you my thanks as a fellow-soldier and a fellow-citizen. The sentiments in which you have admitted me into your troop, shall be the sentiments of my life; *and the liberty of Ireland, as it was my first, so it shall be my latest passion.* In this I am not particular, while respectable men like you entertain the same wish, and help to carry it into execution.

I am, Gentlemen,
With the greatest respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

BELFAST VOLUNTEER COMPANY.

On Parade, Saturday, April 27, 1782.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the following address to Mr. GRATTAN be signed and forwarded by our captain, and that the same be published in the Dublin Evening Post and Belfast News Letter.

SAM. M'TIER.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

WE sincerely thank you for your steady, uniform, and at last, successful exertions in favor of the *liberties* of Ireland: to *your* animated and persevering endeavours, aided by those *worthies* who so nobly supported you in the glorious pursuit, we stand indebted for our emancipation from the *intolerable yoke* of a foreign legislature.

May Heaven preserve your *invaluable life*, long to watch over that liberty you so early and so firmly asserted, long to enjoy the satisfaction arising from the applause of admiring millions, and the still greater, proceeding from the consciousness of having deserved it.

We aim not to confer honour, but to derive it, by declaring to the world, that we shall ever revere you as *the deliverer of your country*, and that whilst Ireland is a nation, your name must be remembered with gratitude.

Those *rights* which you have laboured to establish, which the *people* have unanimously claimed, and which both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT have now declared; we are determined to support to the utmost, and never to yield but with our *lives*.

We rejoice that the time is at last arrived, when the voice of the senate and the voice of the people is *one*, our just claims thus enforced will not be refused, our *rights* will be established on a permenent basis, and our *grievances* fully redressed — when that æra shall arive, all jealousies will cease, Britain and Ireland, two *distinct kingdoms*, will become *one people*, inseparably united by interest and affection, by equal liberty and the same constitution, our lives and fortune will be gladly dedicated to the defence of our beloved Sovereign and his illustrious house; Ireland will *then* cheerfully bleed for Britain, and sharing her *liberty* will share her *fate*.

SAM. M'TIER.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU feel with justice that the bonds of union are to be strengthened only by the removal of jealousy, *and that Great Britain acquires power when Ireland obtains liberty.*

We have ever wished to bleed in the general cause, and in securing our own liberty have sought a safe opportunity to indulge the next most powerful affection of our mind, a sisterly regard for the British nation.

A unanimous Parliament, breathing the sense of a united people, and founding its claim on uncontrovertible rights, must prevail. Your strong expressions in my favour, I am very sensible of, and shall never forget. Your principles give authority to your commendation.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ROYAL OAK VOLUNTEERS.

AT a full Meeting of the Independent Royal Oak Volunteer Companies of the City of Waterford, in a regular and proper manner convened, JAMES KEARNEY, Esq. being called to the chair, it was unanimously resolved that the following address be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.

SIR,

WE have long observed your steady, virtuous and truly patriotic conduct in Parliament, and with conscious pleasure find ourselves among the foremost, at your first setting out, in expressing our very high veneration for the powerful exertion of your abilities in your country's cause.—Your glorious perseverance has at length procured those declarations which Ireland long wished for. To your unwearied endeavours do we chiefly attribute the vindication of those rights which Irishmen value above existence.

Accept then, Sir, the warmest thanks which gratitude, which admiration can bestow; and believe us when we thus publicly declare, that we consider it as one of the greatest compliments we can pay ourselves, the enrolling you amongst the Royal Oak Volunteers of the City of Waterford.

Resolved unanimously, That a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted to our worthy and patriotic Colonel, CORNELIUS BOLTON, Esq. and that he be requested to present the same to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.

Resolved, That the above resolutions be published in the Dublin Evening Post and Waterford Papers.

Signed by order,
JAMES KEARNEY.

The chairman having left the chair, resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Captain Kearney, for his proper conduct in the chair.

Signed by order,
ROBERT RICHARDSON, Sec.

Waterford,
April 28th, 1782.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM to thank you a second time, for the most flattering mark of distinction.—Encouraged by your approbation and supported by your spirit, I have ventured to proceed with other friends of this country to advance the general cause.

I will not desert it now, nor think myself deserving of those thanks which you so generously bestow on me, until the work is finished, and all the particulars of our address acceded to, in the well-founded expectation of which, I subscribe myself,

With great respect, and many thanks,
One of your body,
HENRY GRATTAN.

DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS,

COMMANDED BY HIS GRACE THE

DUKE OF LEINSTER.

AT a general Meeting of the corps, pursuant to a special summons for that purpose, held at the Eagle, Eustace-street, the 28th day of April, 1782.

HENRY MONK, Esq. Major, in the chair.

This corps, having considered, with the highest gratitude, and most heartfelt satisfaction, the paternal regard and attention which his Majesty has been graciously pleased to manifest to *this nation*, in his message to our Parliament, directing them to take our *grievances* into their most serious consideration, have

Resolved unanimously, That a conduct so *truly royal* in our most gracious Sovereign, must make an indelible impression on the hearts of Irishmen, whose strongest characteristics are *affectionate loyalty* to their Prince, and the most *determined* and *persevering exertions* in the cause of their country and *her constitutional rights*.

Resolved unanimously, That we should hold ourselves unworthy such royal favour, did we not feel the weight of the obligation, and determine most steadily to coincide with his Majesty's gracious intention of delivering this his loyal kingdom from *every grievance*.

Resolved unanimously, That, as citizens and soldiers, we feel ourselves deeply impressed with gratitude and esteem, for those *respectable* and *illustrious* characters in both Houses of Parliament, who have supported the honour and consequence of the Volunteers of Ireland, from a conviction that their *manly determinations* to enjoy the blessings of a *free constitution*, are the best proofs of their *unshaken* loyalty and attention to the *true interests of this country*.

Resolved, That we receive the utmost satisfaction in finding, that the following resolutions of this corps, published the 9th Day of June, 1780, has been supported by the unanimous voice of the nation, viz.

The Duke of LEINSTER then in the chair.

" That the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland only, are competent to make laws binding the subjects of this realm, and that we will not obey, or give operation to any laws, save only those enacted by the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, whose rights and privileges, jointly and severally, we are determined to support with our lives and fortunes."

Resolved unanimously, That Henry Grattan, Esq. in a peculiar manner, merits the thanks and confidence of every Irishman for the distinguished exertion of his abilities, displayed on his proposition for a *parliamentary Declaration of Rights*, which we have now the happiness to see *sanctified* by both Houses of Parliament, with that *unanimity* its national importance demanded.

Resolved accordingly, That the Thanks of this corps be presented to Mr. Grattan, and that a respectable deputation do wait on him with a copy of these Resolutions.

The corps take this opportunity of thus publicly returning Thanks to Major Monk for his conduct in the chair this day, and for his constant attention to the corps upon all occasions.

Ordered, That the above Resolutions be published six times in the Dublin Evening Post and Dublin Journal.

Signed by order,
JOHN WILLIAMS, Sec.

THE committee appointed having waited on Mr. GRATTAN with the Resolution, he was pleased to return the following Answer:

GENTLEMEN,

I RETURN you my most sincere thanks.—We are embarked in the same cause, with one interest and one opinion; the same determination to be free, and the same desire to exhort those who endeavour to serve the public:—Your resolution is particularly agreeable to me:—I enter into the generous spirit which inspired it, and shall be ambitious to retain that esteem which I am proud to meet with in this most flattering testimony of your liberality and your patriotism.

I am, Gentlemen,
With the greatest respect,
Your most humble obedient,
HENRY GRATTAN.

MUNSTER VOLUNTEERS.

AT a Meeting of delegates from eighty-six of the Volunteer corps of the province of Munster, at Mallow, the 2d of May, 1782.

Colonel STAWELL in the chair.

A COMMITTEE being chosen for the purpose of forming Resolutions, the following were reported and unanimously agreed to:

Lord KINGSBOROUGH, Chairman of the committee.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the Resolutions of the Volunteer delegates assembled at Dungannon, express with spirit and truth the rights and grievances of this kingdom; we therefore most cordially accede to them.

Resolved unanimously, That we are determined with our lives and fortunes, to support our Houses of Parliament in their late virtuous efforts to establish the rights and privileges of this realm.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the earnest wish, and it must ever be the glory of Irishmen to be connected with Great Britain by friendship never to be broken; by affections never to be changed; by interests never to be separated; but we conceive a mutual enjoyment of equal privilege (being united under the same Sovereign, yet governed by distinct and independent legislatures) can alone establish such friendship, such affections, such interests.

Resolved unanimously, That we have the most ardent hope that the administration of Ireland will adopt that plan of retrenchment which ministers have declared their intention of forming in England; and we rejoice at the idea of "weeding corruption from the Land," a system much to be wished for in this kingdom, where we have seen the most prostitute characters hold the most honourable and lucrative employments.

Resolved unanimously, That when the rights of this realm shall be universally acknowledged, it will be the indispensible duty of every Irishman to guard the constitution against future violation; and as the infamous doctrine of power conferring right hath been asserted, We therefore pledge ourselves, and conjure our brethren volunteers, not to relinquish or slacken in the use of arms, as the best means to repel any attempt of lawless power to guard against invasion, assist our sister kingdom, and enforce the just execution of laws.

Resolved unanimously, That a committee of correspondnce,a consisting of thirty-six members, be elected, (seven to be quorum) to meet and consult with the other delegates of the kingdom.

Resolved unanimously, That no member of either House of Parliament, who hath in or out of Parliament, or by any other means, opposed a declaration of rights for this kingdom, shall be eligible as a committee-man.

The Committee was formed of the following persons:

County of Cork.

James Bernard, Esq.
Colonel Francis Bernard,
Lord Viscount Kingsborough,
Sir John Conway Colthurst, Bart.

County of the City of Cork.

Colonel Bagwell,
Colonel Bousfield,
Richard Moore, Esq.
Richard Fitton, Esq.

County of Limerick.

Colonel Massey,
Colonel Croker,
Colonel Ryves,
Colonel Maunsell.

County of the City of Limerick.

Colonel Smyth,
Colonel Prendergast,
Colonel Harte,
Major Powell.

County of Waterford.

John Congreve, Esq.
Colonel Kean,
Captain Musgrave,
Captain Shee.

County of the City of Waterford.

Robert Shapland Carew, Esq.
Cornelius Bolton, Esq.
Henry Alcock, Esq.
Hannibal William Dobbyn, Esq.

County of Kerry.

Colonel Sir Barry Denny, Bart.
Colonel Arthur Blennerhasset,
Major Godfrey,
Colonel Gun.

County of Tipperary.

Colonel Prittie,
Edward Moore, Esq.
Samuel Jacob, Esq.
Samuel Allen, Esq.

County of Clare.
Not yet returned.

Resolved unanimously, That as we wish to see all the spirit, the virtue, and the strength of the nation united in the support and defence of the just rights and constitution of Ireland, respectable men of every religious denomination, be admissible, by ballot (as usual) into the volunteer corps of this province.

Resolved unanimously, That we shall ever acknowledge our obligations to those members of Parliament, who uniformly supported the rights and pressed for a redress of the grievances of this kingdom; and that such men alone are worthy of our support on every future election.

Resolved unanimously, That the Thanks of this Meeting be presented to Colonel HENRY GRATTAN, for his unwearied attention to the interest of Ireland: and from whose exertions, assisted by the volunteers, and people in general, this kingdom is likely to derive great and lasting advantages.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented to Colonel HENRY GRATTAN:

"SIR,

"A NATION, for ages despoiled of her liberty, considers "you as the assertor of that blessing without the enjoyment of "which, riches cease to be wealth, and peace to be tranquillity. "Look into yourself—revolve in your mind, that you have made "your country free! Your own sensations must be superior to all "the thanks we can express."

Resolved unanimously, That the volunteer corps and inhabitants of Mallow merit the thanks of this meeting, for their attention, and for their polite and hospitable behaviour.

Resolved unanimously, That the commanders of the several volunteer corps of this province do return (upon honour) to the chairman, the date of their first association in arms.

Resolved unanimously, That the proceedings of this meeting be published in the Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Clare, Limerick, Kerry, and Waterford Newspapers.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be given to Henry Newson, Esq., for his proper conduct as Secretary.

Resolved unanimously, That this Meeting be adjourned until such time as the Answers to the Addresses of our Parliament be received, as we are at this time uncertain what measures may be proper for Irishmen to adopt: and that then, and on every other great national occasion, our Committee of Correspondence be empowered, and are requested to call a meeting of the delegates of this province.

SAMPSON STAWELL, Chairman.

The chairman having quitted the chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be presented to Colonel Stawell, for the propriety of his conduct in the chair.

In committee, the chairman having quitted the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this committee be given to Lord Viscount Kingsborough, for the propriety of his conduct in the chair, and we reflect with pleasure on his patriotic conduct in parliament.

HENRY NEWSOM, Secretary to the Munster Delegates.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

IT is impossible to convey in fewer words more decided sentiments, or more flattering approbation, than you have done in those very pregnant lines, for which I am now to return my sincere acknowledgments.

On the part of my country, and of myself, I am to thank eighty-six corps—I am to thank them for conferring honour on the individual, for giving support to the cause, and for combining both.

The grievances, for the removal of all and each of which we are committed life and fortune; foreign legislature, appellant judicature, and writ of error to England, unconstitutional power of the councils, and a perpetual mutiny bill, will I hope speedily vanish, and a free constitution establish itself on their ruins.

I thank you most sincerely. I thank you for your support and your commendation, your esteem and your assistance.

I am, Gentlemen,
With the greatest respect and regard,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

P. S. Mr. Francis Bernard has done me the honour to present your Address; to the same respectable and independent member I gave the Answer.

LONDONDERRY INDEPENDENT VOLUNTEERS.

At a full Meeting of the Londonderry Independent Volunteers, held in the City-Hall, May 2d, 1782.

Captain FERGUSON Chairman.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be transmitted by our Captain to Mr. Grattan, and be published in the Dublin Evening Post and Londonderry Journal.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

We rejoice that the Parliament hath unanimously declared to our Sovereign the grievances of his loyal subjects in Ireland, we rest in confidence that those grievances will now be redressed. And we feel our obligations to the spirited and persevering assertor of our rights. Finish what you have so ably begun. See our grievances effectually redressed, and our rights fully established; in this great work, we are determined to support you with our lives and fortunes.

We are unable to do justice to merit, which will be admired and venerated by posterity. Accept, Sir, our thanks as a testimony of our gratitude. May you long enjoy the tribute of praise, esteem, and affection, due by a generous people to the zealous champion of their liberties.

JOHN FERGUSON, { Captain, Londonderry Independent Volunteers.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I rejoice with you that Parliament has declared to the King the grievances of his people; with you I remain in expectation that they will be redressed, and relying on you I will persist until they are so; in doing so I but discharge a duty due to a generous and spirited country, whose efforts, founded on right, will make her situation free and her name immortal.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

May 9th, 1782.

VOLUNTEER MEETING.

AT a Meeting of the United Corps of True Blue Volunteers, and Society Volunteers on parade, the 2d of May, 1782.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the following Address be subscribed by our respective Captains, and forwarded to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. and that the same, with Mr. GRATTAN's Answer, be published three times in the Dublin Evening Post and Londonderry Journal.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

As your conduct in Parliament has always been directed to one great object, "the rights of Ireland," the people have looked up to you with confidence, and you have fully approved yourself worthy of it.

United to you in sentiment, bound to you by obligation, we should do injustice to our feelings, were we to omit expressing our gratitude, for your noble, spirited, and successful endeavour, on the 16th of last month, to ascertain and secure the freedom and independence of this kingdom, and to fix the constitution on the firm basis of equal liberty. And as through you, and other virtuous and independent senators, *the voice of the people is at length become the voice of Parliament*, we flatter ourselves with the hope that the period is not distant, when your efforts will be crowned with success, by securing to your fellow-subjects their undoubted rights, which will unite them to Great Britain by interest and affection.

Deeply interested in your welfare, permit us, Sir, to express our sincerest wishes, that Providence may prolong your life; an ornament to your country; (animating her sons to an imitation of your virtues) and her boast to future generations.

WILLIAM LECKY, Captain, True Blue Volunteers.
WILLIAM MOORE, Captain Society Volunteers.

Londonderry, May 3d, 1782.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I DO hope that the period is not far off, when the virtuous efforts of this country shall be crowned with success. Those efforts were confined to the uncontrovertible rights of the people;

and as in their origin they proceeded from a spirit of moderation, so in their consequence must they have the salutary effect of coalition, by making interest and affection the bond of our connexion with Great Britain; any other is transitory, treacherous, mean, and visionary.

The empire, like the constitution, is preserved by the freedom of all its parts.

In this sentiment the Irish nation has, by securing her own liberty, served the common cause; and Great Britain, by acceding to Irish rights, perpetuates the British empire.

I am, Gentlemen,
With many thanks and great respect,
Your most humble obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

AUGHINLOE MEETING.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the freeholders and principal inhabitants of the parish of Aughinloe, in the county of Londonderry, held at the church of said parish, on the 3d day of May, 1782, pursuant to public notice.

PAUL CHURCH, Gentleman, in the chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

That, at this critical and important crisis, when the fate of Ireland depends upon the wise and spirited exertions of its virtuous inhabitants, we consider it an indispensable duty we owe to ourselves, to our country, and to posterity, to join with our fellow-citizens in demanding those constitutional privileges which are our unalienable birth-rights as Irishmen.

That as freemen, we will be governed only by our own laws, and that the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, are the only power competent to make such laws.

That the members of the House of Commons derive their power solely from their constituents, and that every member thereof, who contemptuously neglects the instructions of his constituents, betrays his trust, and is unworthy of confidence.

That we will not, at the next general Election, support any man, but such as is known to be of real integrity, and a friend to this country.

That our warmest thanks and most perfect obligations are due to Henry Grattan, Esq. and the rest of those worthy and patriotic senators, who have so long, and until lately so ineffectually laboured for the emancipation of this country.

That our Chairman, Messrs. Alexander Scott, Matthew Patten, David Ranken, John Forsyth, William Forsyth, Jacob Forsyth, William Hazlet, and Thomas Maxwell, be appointed a committee (any five of whom to be a quorum) to call future meetings of said parish, and to act in concert with the committees of other parishes, and that these our resolutions be published three times in the Dublin Evening Post.

PAUL CHURCH, Chairman.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our chairman for his good and proper conduct.

JACOB FORSYTH, Jun. Secretary.

CLANRICARDE INFANTRY.

At a general Meeting of the Clanricarde Infantry, at Head Quarters, Loughrea, on Sunday the 5th of May, 1782.

Captain DAVID POWER in the chair.

Resolved, That the following address (which should have come earlier from this corps, had not the shock it received by the sudden death of our much lamented Colonel, the late Earl of Clanricarde, and our consequent attendance at his interment, prevented,) be now signed by our chairman, and by him transmitted to Henry Grattan, Esq.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

When abilities like yours, proof against every species of corruption, and devoted solely to the public service, have been exercised with unremitting perseverance in the glorious task of rescuing this long oppressed country from slavery, we should consider a tacit approbation of your conduct but a negative compliment to a character so distinguished, and entitled not only to the admiration, but to the public applause of the whole kingdom. A prospect of happiness, to which Ireland hath long been a stranger, has at length, through your unwearied exertions, and those of a few worthy colleagues, begun to dawn upon us, and the people behold with pleasure the good effects of their virtuous struggle for liberty, in his Majesty's message to the Parliament of this kingdom, and in that spirited, yet loyal address to his Majesty on the occasion, which received, Sir, from your amendment its fullest force, and, in our minds, its chiefest consequence.

Impressed with every exalted feeling for the situation of this impoverished country, and fully acquainted with its constitution, you have set forth our grievances in their proper light, and in a manner which every free born and virtuous son of Great Britain must approve of. The unanimous voice of this nation, expressive of the decided sentiments of its inhabitants, has reached the throne, backed by the steady evidence of truth and justice; and the Parliament of England having now no alternative left, cannot hesitate a moment to abolish every act of supremacy over Ireland. But should they still persist to procrastinate our rights, and tamper with our well tried loyalty, a brave and armed people will not, cannot, submit; their lives are interwoven with their liberties, and though they would die in defence of *British honour*, they would first live or perish in support of *Irish freedom*.

DAVID POWER, Chairman.

RESOLVED, That HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. be elected an honorary member of this corps, as it is our wish to have a name so respectable in the eyes of our country enrolled amongst us, and such appointment being the highest testimony we can give of our very great sense of his merit.

Resolved, That these Resolutions and Address, with Mr. GRATTAN's answer, be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Connaught Journal.

Signed by order,
MYLES BURKE TULLY, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN, 5th May, 1782.

IT gives me very particular pleasure in finding the answer to his Majesty's message so agreeable to the sense of the nation, and, as it contained nothing which was not essential to our existence, as freemen, so we have taken the liberty to commit this nation to every part of it, and previous to the adjournment of last Saturday, the members of the House of Commons did solemnly pledge themselves, and their country, to the abolition of the following grievances as contained in our answer: — Foreign legislature, Foreign judicature of any kind whatsoever, unconstitutional powers of the councils, and a perpetual mutiny bill; pledged against all and each of these grievances, we departed to return to Parliament in three weeks, with the same unalterable sentiments.

We have great reliance on the justice of England, and the fair and honorable objects of her ministers, and, therefore, without betraying any diffidence of them, have manifested that firmness in ourselves which shall not only make us free, but respectable—for we do not supplicate for our rights as a favor, even when we are stating them to an amicable government.

I return you my very sincere thanks for electing me to be a member of that body, whose spirit I have long admired, and glory to participate.

I am, Gentlemen, with great admiration of your firmness and principles,

Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

5th May, 1782.

UPPER CROSS and COOLOCK INDEPENDENT VOLUNTEERS.

At a full Meeting of the Upper Cross and Coolock Independent Volunteers, at Ranelagh, on Sunday the 5th of May, 1782.

Colonel RICHARD TALBOT in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be presented to that distinguished patriot Henry Grattan, Esq.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

Your manly, able and unremitting endeavours to emancipate your fellow subjects from the oppression of laws, enacted by a power incompetent to bind this realm, have as justly gained you the esteem and admiration, as they entitle you to the gratitude of every Irishman who prides in being the subject of a free state.

Permit the Corps of Upper Cross and Coolock Independent Volunteers, who exult in the enviable honor of having first inrolled you under the Volunteer banner, to approach with the tribute of their warmest thanks for those strenuous exertions in Parliament, of your very great abilities, from which we have now every reason to expect, and do confide, that this kingdom will speedily be acknowledged (what of right it is) an Imperial Kingdom, governed solely by its own Laws.

Nor can we withhold this testimony of our approbation of that liberal, mild, and tolerating spirit, which the benevolence of your heart has dictated, and your eloquence diffused throughout this kingdom, a circumstance that has cemented in one common band of union, men of every rank and persuasion, and by which the native and original strength of this nation has happily been restored.

Persevere, Sir, and give us leave to assure you, that we will by every constitutional means in our power, support and assist you, in establishing the inherent and inalienable rights of the Crown and Parliament of Ireland, on the most firm and equitable basis.

RICHARD TALBOT, Chairman.

Colonel Talbot having left the Chair, and Captain John Trail having taken it.

Resolved unanimously, That our sincere thanks be presented to our worthy Chairman, Colonel Richard Talbot, Esq., for his constant and polite attention to this Corps, and for his spirited and zealous endeavours to improve the commerce, and support the constitution of this country.

Ordered, That a Deputation of the Officers of this Corps do wait on Henry Grattan, Esq. with the foregoing Address, and that said Address, with his answer, be published.

Signed by order,
J. GAYNOR, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

WE began together our military life, and have proceeded on the same principles. I reflect with great satisfaction on the commencement of a service that has prospered so exceedingly, and so marvellously answered the various purposes of defence and constitution.

The spirit of toleration, which in other nations is humane, is necessary and indispensable in Ireland. It is our base and bulwark. Nature has made us the same people, and it is folly only that would divide us. We hold the liberty we receive, by right of the liberty we give. We confide in the Roman Catholic, and he is our friend for ever. I am greatly encouraged by this strong assurance of support.

In your firmness, and your principles, I have the most implicit confidence.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

AT a Meeting of the County of Lowth Regiment, held at Dundalk on Monday, the 6th of May, 1782.

Lieutenant Colonel THOMAS LEE, in the Chair.

THE following Address was unanimously agreed to.

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

SIR,

WHILST all ranks seem to vie with each other in applauding your conduct, we should be insensible indeed, if we joined not in the general acclamation.

To your unremitted exertions we hold ourselves in a great measure indebted for those commercial advantages which we have obtained, and those constitutional ones which we hope for.

May you long live and feel your own happiness increased by participating in that of your country.

RESOLVED unanimously, That John William Foster, Esq. do wait on Colonel GRATTAN with the foregoing Address, and that the same, with Mr. GRATTAN's Answer, be inserted in the Dublin Evening Post.

THOMAS LEE, Lieut. Colonel, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR strong and expressive Address I receive with thanks and gratitude. I know the spirit of your regiment; that knowledge makes your approbation more interesting to me. Your character adds value to your praise.

I remain with you in firm expectation of great constitutional rights. My happiness, like yours, depends on the liberty of this nation.

I am, with great respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CARTON UNION.

At a full Meeting of the Carton Union, May 6, 1782.

Colonel HUGH CANE, in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented to Colonel Henry Grattan.

Sir,

As every word in the English language expressive of respect, veneration, and gratitude, have justly been applied to you from every part of this kingdom, for the manly lead that you have taken in procuring for your native country those blessings that it now enjoys, and which nothing but your virtue and perseverence could have obtained; under those circumstances we find a difficulty to describe the warm feelings of our hearts, replete with gratitude and affection.

May you, Sir, long enjoy the heartfelt satisfaction of having set your country free, and may this country look up to you as its deliverer and guardian to the end of time.

HUGH CANE, Colonel.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

No thanks or acknowledgments on my part can equal your strong, generous, and honorable declarations. I will not fail to persevere in that conduct which has met with the approbation of my country, and which has been accompanied with such proofs of her generosity and applause.

I am, with great respect,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

4th June, 1782.

LEITRIM RANGERS.

At a General Meeting of the Leitrim Rangers, on the 6th day of May, 1782.

JOHN MAHER, Esq. in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Resolved, That we highly approve of, and admire the resolutions entered into by the Delegates assembled at Dungannon, on the 15th day of February last, and the Connaught Delegates at Ballinasloe; and that we will at all times most cheerfully co-operate with our Fellow Citizens and Volunteers, in obtaining a redress of grievances and establishing the rights and liberties of Ireland.

Resolved, That we feel the highest satisfaction for His Majesty's gracious attention to the welfare of this kingdom, in his message to our Parliament, recommending them to take our grievances into their serious consideration.

Resolved, That, as Irishmen, we find ourselves deeply impressed with gratitude and esteem for those great and illustrious characters in both houses of parliament, who have so ably and honorably supported the rights of their country.

Resolved unanimously, That HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. merits the most sincere and warmest thanks of every Irishman, for the exertion of his abilities, for the welfare and freedom of Ireland, and for his proposal of a parliamentary declaration of our rights.

Resolved, That our thanks be presented to our Chairman, for his conduct in the chair this day.

Signed by order,
RICHARD SIMPSON, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVED your resolution in my favor, and return you my most sincere thanks. The measures you allude to, I hope will be attended with success, in which you are to thank the noble efforts of the nation, to which I have only given my assistance in common with others.

I am, with many thanks,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dublin, 14th May, 1782.

LOUGHGALL VOLUNTEERS.

AT a full Meeting of the Loughgall Volunteers, on parade, Wednesday, May 8th, 1782, it was unanimously resolved, That the three following Addresses be signed by our Captain, and presented, one to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. one to PETER METGE, Esq. and one to the Right Hon. JOHN FOSTER, and that the same, with such answers as these distinguished patriots may be pleased to honor us with, be published three times in the Dublin Evening Post and Belfast News-Letter.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

THE Loughgall Volunteers have beheld with astonishment, the wondrous powers you have uniformly displayed, in asserting and vindicating the (too long) invaded rights of Ireland, and look up to you, as the unpensioned minister of the people, and the political saviour of their country. Under this distinguished description, so highly flattering to a mind like yours, the rising generation will transmit to posterity your illustrious name, and infants, yet unborn, will learn, with their first speech, to lisp the name of GRATTAN.

May you long live to enjoy the unequalled glory and satisfaction, resulting from the well-earned applause of a grateful people.

JOHN BACKALL, Captain, Loughgall Volunteers.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK most sincerely the Loughgall Volunteers for their obliging address—your rights, I hope, will be speedily established, and carefully transmitted, and posterity will guard with affection, what you have acquired with such extraordinary exertions. The conduct of this country will not only have recovered freedom, but set before posterity an example to preserve it, and establish a standard of national character, from which your children will be ashamed to degenerate.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

18th May, 1782.

AT a Meeting of the Cavan Independent Volunteers, held the 8th of May, 1782, the following Address was unanimously agreed on.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

ALTHOUGH we have not been foremost in paying that tribute, so justly due to your persevering virtue, and irresistible abilities, yet we equally feel that admiration and esteem, which must ever follow exalted talents, directed to glorious objects.

We are well convinced, to a mind like yours, the reward arising from your own breast, is an ample recompense for every exertion in your country's cause; yet we hope this public testimony of our approbation and respect, will not be unacceptable; it is due to you, and is an indulgence to ourselves. Every generous mind must feel a secret satisfaction in admiring conduct like yours, it in some measure participates its glory.

It is needless to enter into a recapitulation of grievances, so justly and so generally complained of; they are many, and have been often repeated; but we cannot help feeling ourselves strongly impressed with gratitude to our gracious sovereign, for his signal marks of paternal regard, in making choice of a set of men, so eminently calculated to rescue their country from that ruin and disgrace, brought on by the late administration, of infamous memory. We rejoice in its defeat, which we hope will be followed by a speedy reduction of their mercenary banditti, placemen and pensioners, those vermin of the constitution, who, we hope, will never again be taken either into pay or confidence; they are the most fatal enemies any nation has to fear; enemies against whom its chief efforts ought to be directed: the truth of which observations will, we hope, be sufficiently evinced, by the different effects that will be produced by that line of conduct, there is every reason to expect, the present men in power will pursue.

An honest parliament is all sufficient for every purpose of redress; the corruption of that body has made the chief breach, through which the betrayers of their country, could admit the murderers of liberty: and can there be too much vigilance in guarding so important a pass, or too much deliberation in suggesting measures for its safety? It is a subject of the most interesting nature, on which depends the permanent security of those very rights we are now contending for. We must look up to those saviours of their country, the unrivalled volunteers, to put the finishing hand to their eminent services, by laying aside that pernicious system of county politics, where friendship and gratitude are made the stalking-horses to ill-judged ambition or avarice; and vote only for Irishmen, as on an impartial investigation, will be found to be most confided in. Let us reject, with becoming contempt, the frivolous atention of insignificant candidates, and reverting to the old principles of our glorious constitution, look out for that man whom virtuous modesty may conceal, always remembering that the most forward to solicit, will be ever the most forward to betray.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I ADMIRE the indignation you express against the arts of corruption, and I approve, exceedingly, of those constitutional principles, by which you propose to secure the independency of election.

The grievances, which it is now unnecessary to recapitulate, will, I hope, speedily, and radically, be removed, and in that redress, as well as in the disposition of government, all pretence for undue influence, I make no doubt will cease: in expectation of such a period.

I am, with great respect,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

8th May, 1782.

The ADDRESS of the DUNGANNON BATTALION.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

WE should think ourselves unworthy the name of freemen, and the benefits resulting from a free constitution, were we to allow your conduct, as a senator, to pass—without that tribute of praise it so justly claims.

Great talents are the gifts of Heaven, dispensed to men to serve valuable purposes; we consider the application you have made of your abilities in the senate, as a singular blessing to this nation; you have raised the people into consequence; permit them, therefore, Sir, by a public acknowledgment of your merit, gratefully to reflect back upon you, the dignity you have conferred upon them.

Signed,
CHARLES DUFFIN, Major.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

THE consequence of the nation is the consequence of every individual that composes it, and, as one, I feel myself in common with the rest of my fellow-subjects, exalted by the glorious efforts of Ireland.—The particular praise which you are pleased to bestow, is your generosity;—I shall endeavour to act up to that character you honor me with, in your most liberal and acceptable address: —Whatever talents I possess, I shall apply in your service, and shall consider my own dignity depends on the dignity of the nation.

I am, with great regard,
Your humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dublin, 10th May, 1782.

May 10th, 1782.

ROYAL TRALEE VOLUNTEERS.

AT a general Meeting of the Royal Tralee Volunteers, held this day.

Colonel Sir BARRY DENNY, Bart. in the chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That Colonel HENRY GRATTAN be admitted a member of this corps.

That the following Address be presented to Colonel HENRY GRATTAN by the secretary; which address, with Colonel GRATTAN's answer, are ordered to be printed in the Dublin, Cork, and Kerry Newspapers.

That the warmest thanks of this corps, be returned to Colonel Sir BARRY DENNY, Bart, and Major GUN, delegates from this corps, to the provincial meeting at Mallow, for their patriotic and public spirited conduct there, as well as for their constant and unwearied attention to the welfare and interest of this corps.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps, be presented to JAMES WILLIAM GRAVES, Esq. our secretary, for his constant attention, and the many services he has rendered this corps.

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

SIR,

WITH the greatest sense of gratitude, we request you will accept of our warmest acknowledgments, for your virtuous and persevering conduct in parliament, to restore and secure the constitutional rights of Ireland; and we doubt not, by your future exertions, you will accomplish the noble work you have so happily begun.

In testimony of our approbation of your conduct, we pride ourselves on enrolling the name of Grattan in our corps.

BARRY DENNY, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I am deeply sensible of your expressions in my favor; I rejoice to see our constitutional rights restored, and I make no doubt they will be preserved. I return you my thanks, for appointing me a member of your corps, and am,

With great respect,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN

MONAGHAN FIRST BATTALION.

At a Meeting of the county of Monaghan First Battalion, on the 12th day of May, 1782, the following Address was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be transmitted to our worthy Colonel, John Montgomery, Esq., to be by him presented

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

A great revolution has taken place in the affairs of Ireland —*from a state of slavery she becomes free*—from a situation scarcely known, she becomes respectable and great. To your abilities and exalted virtues, she stands most peculiarly indebted for such invaluable blessings. The tribute of thanks from every honest Irishman, is certainly your due. Receive it, Sir, from a body of men who would sacrifice their lives in defence of the resolutions you introduced into the House of Commons, on the 16th of April, and to the support of which, every individual in the nation is now so solemnly pledged.

May you long live to enjoy that heartfelt satisfaction, a conscious integrity must ever insure. A satisfaction only to be heightened by the success we are confident is at hand, to crown such manly and unwearied exertions as you have lately held forth, to the astonishment of an admiring people, and to the unspeakable advantage of millions yet unborn.

ROBERT MONTGOMERY, Major.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I was convinced of your determination to support your liberties with your lives. I am happy now in finding, that liberty is the reward of men who so eminently deserve to be free. Your firmness and your temper, together with the justice of our cause, and a favorable disposition in a sister country, have succeeded to establish our emancipation, and perpetuate our connexion with Great Britain. Both objects are of the last consequence to both nations. *In contending for Irish Liberty, you contend for England.*

I am, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dublin, 4th June, 1782.

TRIM and RATOATH VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the united Corps of Trim and Ratoath Volunteers, the 12th of May, 1782.

Captain FINLAY in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Corps be given to Colonel Henry Grattan, for his manly exertions and spirited perseverance in support of the rights of Ireland, and particularly for the amendment moved by him to the Address of the Commons, on the 16th of April last.

Resolved, That Colonel Grattan be admitted an honorary member of this Corps.

Resolved, That a copy of these Resolutions be transmitted to the Right Hon. the Earl of Mornington, our Colonel, and that he be requested to present them to Colonel Grattan.

Signed by order,
EDWARD MALONE, Sec.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

My Dear Sir, Dangan Castle, 12th May, 1782.

At the desire of the Volunteer Corps which I command, I transmit to you their unanimous resolutions, expressive of their concurrence in that general gratitude and admiration, which now gathers so thickly round you from every part of the nation. The testimony of any individual corps in your favor, is at this time rather a proof of their own spirit and judgment, than any addition to your honors. I am proud that these Gentlemen, with whom I am particularly connected, have publicly expressed so true a sense of your character; and I rejoice, that by employing me to communicate their sentiments to you, they have given me an opportunity of congratulating you on those grateful and just distinctions, which at this moment you are receiving from the people of Ireland; whose voice is now raised as loudly to applaud your merits, as it was before to assert their own rights.

Believe me, my dear Sir, with the truest esteem and admiration,
Your most faithful and humble Servant,
MORNINGTON,
(afterwards Lord Wellesley.)

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I thank you for your resolution in my favor, I thank you for admitting me an honorary member of your Corps, and I thank you for your Colonel, whose early abilities and glowing integrity, will help to adorn and perpetuate that constitution they have contributed to restore.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

At a General Meeting of the Volunteers of the County of the Town of Galway, held on Monday the 12th of May, 1782, the following Address was unanimously agreed to, and that Mr. Geoghegan be requested to present the same.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

When we reflect upon the manly and dignified perseverance, with which you have vindicated the rights of your country. When we contemplate the splendour of those abilities which, aided by the voice of the nation, have awed corruption into silence, and borne down all opposition to a parliamentary declaration of our liberties, we find language inadequate to the expression of our feelings. Formed with those great qualities which command the confidence and the admiration of mankind, you seem to have been sent by providence to rouse the native, though long dormant spirit of the Irish nation, and give freedom to unborn generations.

You are now, Sir, arrived at the highest pinnacle of human exaltation, that the ambition of an elevated mind can aspire to—a place which kings can neither give nor take away—you are seated in the hearts of your grateful and admiring countrymen, and from a private subject in an oppressed land, are become the first citizen of a free people.

Signed by order,
J. KERGAN, Sec.

Resolved, That we conceive the people of this kingdom, ought to erect a statue to Mr. Grattan, as a record of his great and distinguished public services; and that we will contribute our proportion, in concurrence with the rest of our Volunteer brethren, and fellow citizens, to carry this and any other measure into execution, that shall be a national monument of the transactions of the present era.

Signed by order,
J. KERGAN, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I have received from the hands of Mr. Geoghegan, your most acceptable address; to the exalted strain of thought and diction, which, with a very peculiar felicity, attends the public productions of your county*, I can make no adequate answer, except an assurance of the most unfeigned gratitude.

As to that resolution which proposes erecting a statue to me, I can give no further answer, than to repeat my ardent wish, that the stream of public favor may be directed to the nation at large, rather than to any individual; and, that, as the people of Ireland have been the great means of her delivery, so should they be the object of her thanksgiving.

I am, with great respect and thanks,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

20th May, 1782.

ORMOND UNION.

At a Meeting of delegates from the Volunteer Corps which compose the Ormond Union, the 13th of May, 1782.

Captain RALPH SMITH in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be printed in the Dublin Evening Post and Clonmel Gazette.

Resolved, That the Parliament of this kingdom, having unanimously concurred with the voice of the whole people, in their just demands for a free constitution of government, we consider ourselves as standing unalterably pledged in the national confederacy, to support with our lives and fortunes, every article of those requisitions, which we thankfully acknowledge our Parliament to have made, conformably to our most earnest desires.

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* This was an allusion to his friend, Mr. Denis Daly, member for that county.

Resolved, That those patriotic senators who have steadily asserted the constitutional rights of Ireland, and brought forward her claims to this decisive issue, most highly merit from all her sons, their lasting veneration and gratitude; and we trust, that their public virtue will be crowned with that success which must hand down their names to posterity, under that noblest of all titles, The deliverers of their country.

Resolved, That HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. as eminently distinguished among that band of worthies, by his unremitted exertions for the emancipation of his country, and having stood conspicuously foremost in that glorious cause, on the memorable 16th of April last, in the House of Commons, is in a peculiar degree entitled to the confidence and acknowledgments of a brave and generous people, and that we do hereby return him the particular thanks of our corps.

Resolved, That having been represented in the general meeting of the county of Tipperary Delegates, held at Clonmel during the last assizes, and having heartily concurred in their resolutions, our thanks are hereby given to HENRY PRITTIE, Esq. our worthy Colonel, as well for the part he took, as our delegate on that occasion, as for his constant attention to the improvement of our corps—and we take this opportunity to declare, that it is with singular satisfaction we coincide with that meeting, in the distinguished testimony they have borne to the tried integrity of his conduct in Parliament.

Resolved, That Captain Charles Bury, now in Dublin, be requested to wait on Mr. GRATTAN, with a copy of these resolutions.

RALPH SMITH, Chairman.

The GRATTAN SOCIETY of the CITY of DUBLIN.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR, 14th May, 1782.

FROM a retrospective view of your conduct, since you took a seat in Parliament, we have found it marked by justice, liberality, and unerring wisdom. And even where ideas were blazoned with the appearance of popularity, your judgment has discovered the lure—your resolution resisted its operation, and your integrity shielded you from obliquy, while we trusted implicitly in those virtues, which we were sure were employed in our preservation.

Happy must be the situation, where the superiority of the understanding, and the integrity of the heart mutually assist each other.

The upright senator, who resolutely resists every criminal innovation, is doubtless a great character. But when he adds to this stability, the noble animation, the restless virtue of procuring to a free trade, a pure and independent constitution; he signalizes his country, and raises it to that dignity, which a fertile and industrious nation should bear, supported as it now is, by the virtue and valour you have inspired in the sons of freedom.

In forming a society, which we hope will be as permanent as your virtues, we could not for an instant be at a loss for a patron in our own minds. We were unanimous in our choice of Mr. GRATTAN, and general acclamation confirmed the idea; we therefore apply to you, Sir, for permission to use the name of "The GRATTAN Society of the City of Dublin," to give it that veneration, which every man must desire to any society of which he is a member.

Signed by order,
JOHN EVATT, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM much flattered by your approbation, and your proposal. Societies formed like yours, on the base of public principle, are of great utility, they preserve and cultivate public virtue. If my name can be of any service to such a society, you are most heartily welcome to it, and I hold it no small honor, that your principles and my name should go together.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

14th May, 1782.

AT a Meeting of the Aughrim Volunteer Corps of the City of Cork, commanded by Colonel Richard Longfield, held on the 15th of May, 1782.

Captain JAMESON in the Chair.

IT was unanimously resolved, That the following Address be presented by Colonel Longfield, to Colonel HENRY GRATTAN, and that said Address, with the answer, be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Cork Newspapers.

SIR,

As we esteem you a truly virtuous patriot, earnest and able to serve your long neglected country;—as we admire and applaud your great and noble declaration of rights, which we hope will be happily crowned with success. We should think ourselves wanting, if we did not join our voice with the virtuous part of the kingdom, in returning you our sincere thanks, and enrolling you an honorary member of our corps.

EDWARD JAMESON,
Captain, Aughrim Volunteers.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

IT gives me very singular satisfaction, that your hopes are crowned with success, and that your virtues and wishes are rewarded; I thank you sincerely, for admitting me an honorary member of your corps, as well as for the sense you express of my endeavours.

I am, with every acknowledgement and thanks,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ROXBURROW VOLUNTEERS.

SIR,

I AM directed to transmit to you a copy of our Resolutions. They are the genuine sentiments of gratitude, and love of our country, and it gives me a particular pleasure to convey them to you, for, as a friend to Ireland, I respect and admire a true patriot.

There is nothing indelicate in offering praise, when more is to be understood, than can be expressed; therefore I beg leave to assure you that you possess entirely the admiration and regards of this corps and of

Your obedient Servant,
ROBERT MARSH.

Loughrea, 15th May, 1782.

AT a full Meeting of the Roxburrow Volunteers held at Kilchreest, on Tuesday the 14th of May, 1782.

COLONEL WILLIAM PERSSE in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed on, and ordered to be transmitted by the Rev. Robert Marsh, Secretary to the Corps, to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.

RESOLVED, That at this memorable era, when Ireland begins to claim a rank in the list of nations, it is highly proper to mark with emphatical honor, the names of our great constitutional reformers.

We feel a pleasure, which we cannot express, in paying this duty of gratitude, and approbation, to a man, in whom the united virtues of Volunteer and senator, have formed the model of a perfect character.

Resolved, That the name of HENRY GRATTAN deserves to be transmitted to future ages, in the records of every Corps of Volunteers in Ireland.

Resolved, That HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. be elected an honorary member of this Corps, in testimony of our high approbation of his public character and conduct; a tribute inadequate, indeed, to the esteem of his affectionate countrymen, but we trust, an acceptable offering to the ambitious of TRUE HONOR.

Resolved, That these resolutions, with Mr. GRATTAN's answer, be published in the Freeman's Journal, Dublin Evening Post, and Galway Paper.

Signed by order,
ROBERT MARSH.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I have received your Resolutions so flattering to me, and return you my most hearty thanks for admitting me an honorary member of your corps, and for assigning such reasons as make the admission an additional compliment.

I write this testimony of my thanks, with the particular satisfaction of finding the great objects of our address happily accomplished.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

FINGLASS VOLUNTEERS.

At a numerous Meeting of the Finglass Volunteers.

COLONEL SEGRAVE, in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

Sir,

Though our weak suffrages can add but little weight to the applause of thousands, and the united acclamations of a whole people, which you have so deservedly received, yet we should deem ourselves deficient in point of gratitude, were we not to embrace this opportunity of expressing our regard for so exalted a character. As we are men, we cannot but revere that uprightness of conduct, that uncorrupted honesty, which you have ever displayed, in support of our natural rights. As citizens, we most heartily approve of that patriotic zeal, that honest indignation with which you seem inspired when asserting the constitutional claims of this country. But as Volunteers, as men determined to be free, we cannot help applauding in the warmest terms, that firmness and intrepidity of mind, which has at last enabled you, assisted by those other great names, that have ever proved faithful to their trust, to baffle the machinations of court influence, to cause the voice of the people to reach the throne, and give us the happy prospect of having our liberties established upon the most extensive and permanent foundation. Animated by these sentiments we think it almost superfluous to add, that until this great end be obtained, we will endeavour by every means in our power, to support your spirited exertions, to emancipate this long oppressed and much injured country.

As we have taken the liberty of enrolling you, as an honorary member of our corps, we beg you will accept of this admission, as a small indication of the very great esteem in which you are held amongst us.

JOHN SEGRAVE.

Cabra, 15th May, 1782.

The foregoing Address having been presented, Colonel GRATTAN returned the following answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM happy to be enrolled one of your corps, and am equally sensible of the liberality with which you applaud, and the spirit with which you engage, to support patriotic efforts.

The emancipation of this long injured country, I hope is at hand; when the day shall arrive, you will have to thank yourselves for the spirited perseverance and firmness with which you have assisted yourselves and your country.

I am, with great respect,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

18th May, 1782.

THE Address of the Corps of KILKENNY INDEPENDENTS.

Lieut. Colonel BUSHE in the Chair.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

To your splendid talents, to your ardent spirit, and to your steady virtue, we chiefly attribute the emancipation of Ireland. Accept, therefore, the only reward which your disinterestedness has not disclaimed — the applause, the veneration of your countrymen.

A nation conversant in the use of arms, united in the cause of freedom, and conducted by consummate ability, cannot fail to vindicate its rights, and to transmit them to posterity. How dear, then, to his fellow-subjects, how venerable to all future ages, must be *that man*, who has impressed his own character upon his countrymen, who has animated their virtues by his example, and who has combined their efforts by his counsels.

Signed by order,
TIM. HARTY, Sec.

15th May, 1782.

BAR MEETING.

AT a general Meeting of the Bar, holden on Thursday the 16th of May, 1782, and convened by Joshua Davis, Esq. Father of the Bar, pursuant to notice, for the purpose of taking into consideration the plan of erecting a Statue to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq., or conferring upon him such other honourable mark of their regard, as to them should seem proper.

THE following Letter, received by the Chairman, from HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. was produced and read.

To Joshua Davis, Esq.

DEAR SIR, Wednesday, 15th May, 1782.

As the gentlemen of the bar are summoned by the very generous spirit which distinguishes our profession, and are to meet tomorrow, to consider in what manner they shall manifest in my favour, their own liberality and excess of kindness: permit me to submit to you, as our father, a very few words — a statue is an honour reserved for the dead, for those too who have died for their country; there are many other reasons which must occur to your good sense and extensive learning, pointing out a variety of objections to that species of public honour. I wish rather to suggest those objections, than to explain them, lest I should appear guilty either of affected modesty, or incorrigible presumption.

The gentlemen of the bar clubs have left it open for their consideration, to adopt some method, other than that of a statue, by which to heap new favours upon me. It will not, therefore, be any impropriety in me, if I submit how much more worthy it would be of the occasion, and of the learned and respectable body assembled, to erect some national, instead of any personal, monument. Something in honour of the nation, not of the individual. Something to immortalize the era, not the man. In the late transactions, virtue had diffused itself through the whole kingdom; let the kingdom, therefore, commemorate itself, and let individuals be only remembered in her. I cannot forget that the very gentlemen who distinguish me, have distinguished themselves in the public cause with equal ardour, and having greatly contributed to the delivery of their country. I cannot forget also that the resolutions of the Lawyers' Corps, have propagated the fire of liberty, tempered and sanctified by the authority of law. I wish to participate with such men. I will never be distinct from them. They who deserve least of their country, must not presume to select a distinct and exclusive situation, they must stand upon the broad base of public equality — soaring above their fellow-subjects they fall.

I am, dear Sir, with great respect,
Your most humble obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

RESOLVED unanimously, That a committee of fifteen be appointed, to receive from artists, designs of a monument, to perpetuate the vindication of the rights of Ireland, and to express the public gratitude to that illustrious assertor of our rights and constitution, HENRY GRATTAN.

Resolved unanimously, That the following gentlemen be appointed of the said committee.

Mr. Yelverton,
Mr. Kelly,
Mr. Metge,
Mr. O'Neill,
Mr. Burgh,
Mr. Walshe,
Mr. Geoghegan,
Mr. F. Dobbs,
Mr. Emmet,
Mr. Duquerry,
Mr. Prime Serjeant,
Mr. Trant,
Mr. Doyle,
Mr. Lindsay,
Mr. Caldbeck.

The committee appointed at a bar meeting, holden on Thursday the 16th of May, 1782, for the purpose of receiving designs of a monument, to perpetuate the vindication of the rights of Ireland, and to express the public gratitude to that illustrious assertor of our laws and constitution, Henry Grattan, Esq., do hereby give notice that they are ready to receive designs from artists, for the above purpose; and for the direction of artists, the committee think it necessary to declare, that in pursuance of the unanimous sense of the general meeting, that no portrait or resemblance of any living person, except Mr. Grattan, is to form part of such designs. Letters containing such designs, to be directed to the chairman of this committee, before the 1st of November next.

Signed,
BARRY YELVERTON, Chairman.

DOWN REGIMENT.

At a Meeting of the First Independent County of Down Regiment, held in Newtown Ards.

Colonel STEWART (Father of Lord Castlereagh) in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That Colonel Grattan be elected an honorary member of this Regiment.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be signed and forwarded to Colonel Grattan, by our Colonel.

Sir,

When we look back on our former supiness and disgraceful acquiescence, under the usurpation of an external legislature, and reflect on that national weakness and public danger, which first necessitated our having recourse to arms, we cannot but exult in the sudden dignity and importance to which we now see our country rising by its own virtuous efforts; and the impulse is not less irresistible, to bestow applause on those who have greatly led the way in this glorious career.

Accept, therefore, the acknowledgments of the First Independent County of Down Regiment, which solicits the honour of enrolling the illustrious name of Grattan among their body, in testimony of their gratitude and veneration for a character, who has, with unremitting zeal, so successfully explained the rights of Ireland, and infused among the people a love of liberty. Aided, Sir, by your wisdom and abilities, your fellow-citizens have been brought to think and judge for themselves, to understand that the public weal is the concern of every one, and that national prosperity and happiness depend ultimately upon constitutional freedom. The spirit, the enthusiasm of your mind, has caught hold of your countrymen, and from your example they have learnt, not only how to speak but how to act. United in opinion, decided in their demands, they look forward with confidence, to that period when every subject of contest with England shall be done away, and such a constitution established for this country as will, we trust, become, no less than yourself, the admiration of future ages.

By order,
R. STEWART, Colonel.

May 18th, 1782.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE seen, with much inward satisfaction, a new mind establish itself in Ireland, and bring along with it an entire revolution of public sentiment—to that change of disposition must be attributed the change of condition. We have learned to think like freemen, and, exercising the privilege of reason, we have obtained the privilege of subjects.—The public eye presides over public deliberation, and the greatest of the community become responsible to an investigating people.

I concur with you in wishing most ardently to remove from the two nations every subject of dispute—conceiving that harmony is never really in danger, *except when the claims of one country are irreconcileable to the liberties of the other*—in this opinion we have been united and decided, and in this opinion we will prevail.

I return you thanks for admitting me one of your regiment, and am, with great respect and esteem for you, and for the decided integrity of our worthy Colonel who transmits your address.

Your most obedient, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

AT a Meeting of the Londonderry Fusileers, in the City Hall, the 21st day of May, 1782.

Lieutenant ALEXANDER SCOTT in the Chair.

THE following Address to Colonel HENRY GRATTAN, was unanimously agreed to.

SIR,

WHILST the public voice so universally acknowledges those benefits, which your political conduct and steady virtue have derived upon this country, it would argue a want of gratitude not to join the general acclaims.

And yet, should we attempt to pay you that tribute of praise so justly due to your exalted character, we could only, by emblazoning your virtues, or enumerating the glorious fruits of them to this kingdom, furnish a picture already drawn by abler pens.

Permit us, then, to say we are proud to unite our applause to that of the rest of this grateful nation, and to offer you the candid and affectionate effusion of hearts, zealous for your welfare, and replete with the truest sense of your integrity and worth.

ALEXANDER SCOTT,
Lieutenant of the Fusileers.

30th May, 1782.

Mr. Grattan's Answer:

Gentlemen,

I receive with many thanks those candid effusions of kindness and generosity which you bestow upon me, and shall endeavour to preserve the opinion your goodness entertains of me: with the sincerest thanks for your most affectionate address,

I am, your most humble, obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN

At a Meeting of the County of Longford Troop of Light Horse, at Longford, the 22d instant.

The Right Hon. the EARL of GRANARD, in the Chair.

It was unanimously resolved, to present the following Address.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

We request you will not attribute our silence to any want of a just sense and admiration of your exalted character; we have beheld with pleasure your manly, able, and unremitting endeavours to obtain a redress of those grievances we have so long laboured under, and which there is now every reason to hope, will be speedily effected, to the utmost wish of the people of Ireland.

Accept, therefore, Sir, the unfeigned and most heartfelt thanks of this troop, and may you long live to be a blessing, as well as an ornament, to your country.

Resolved, That the secretary of this troop, do wait upon Colonel Grattan with this Address, and that the same, with Mr. Grattan's answer, be inserted in the Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by order,
E. WEST, Secretary.

22d May, 1782.

CASTLETOWN UNION.

At a full Meeting of the Castletown Union, (County of Kildare) on Parade, at Castletown, on the 26th day of May, 1782.

The Right Hon. THOMAS CONOLLY, Captain-Commandant, in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That a committee of thirteen be appointed, to draw up an Address to that great ornament of this country, Colonel Henry Grattan, expressive of the high esteem in which we hold him, as the able assertor of the rights of Ireland.

A committee being accordingly appointed, retired: and after some time returned, and reported that they had drawn up the following Address.

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

SIR,

THE unanimous declaration of the rights of Ireland, is due to your public spirit, firmness, and eloquence: your perspicuity has been so great, as to hit the very moment of time, when the principles of his Majesty's Ministers were such, as to make them happy to restore to the loyalty of Ireland, what their predecessors would never have yielded but to her arms.

May you, Sir, long continue to enjoy the confidence of this kingdom, which your eminent virtue, wisdom, and disinterested conduct so justly entitle you to; and may the principles of the revolution, for ever direct the counsels of Great Britain.

Our mite of praise could make but a small impression on your mind, if we could not, from your frequent residence in our neighbourhood, answer as well for your private, as the whole kingdom can for your public character; and you are the person to whom we can now give our full and hearty cheer of applause, without allay, as the emancipator of your country.

Resolved, unanimously, That the foregoing Address do stand as the Address of this corps, to Colonel GRATTAN.

Resolved unanimously, That our worthy Chairman, the Right Hon. Thomas Conolly, Major Hugh Carncross, and Ensign Burton Tandy, do wait on Colonel GRATTAN, with the foregoing Address, as the Address of this corps, and that the same, together with Colonel GRATTAN'S answer, be inserted in the Dublic Evening Post and Dublin Journal.

Resolved unanimously, That Colonel HENRY GRATTAN be, and he is hereby elected an honorary member of this corps.

Mr. Conolly having left the chair, and Captain Andrew Mills having been elected thereto.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps be given to the Right Hon. Thomas Conolly, our Captain-Commandant, for his polite attention to the honour and dignity of this corps, at all times, but more particularly for his upright conduct this day in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That we do, with the most heart-felt pleasure, return our sincere thanks to Major Hugh Carncross, for the unremitting pains he hath taken in the discipline of this corps.

Signed by order,
WILLIAM BRUCE, Sec.

To which Address Colonel GRATTAN was pleased to return the following answer.

GENTLEMEN,

Your resolution and your Address are so replete with marks of distinction in my favour, that I own myself sensibly affected by every period which they contain.

The warm effusion of your generous praise, I feel as a subject of present acknowledgment, and shall make a lasting principle of my future actions.

The principles of his Majesty's present ministers respect the love of liberty and rights of mankind. We have reason to rejoice that the same principles which have led to freedom at home, should also lead to glory abroad, and that the same period should be immortalized by the restoration of both. Honoured most particularly by your Address, honoured by being appointed one of your body,

I am, Gentlemen, with the strictest respect,
Your most humble obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

5th June, 1782.

COUNTY of KILKENNY.

IVERK VOLUNTEERS.

Commanded by the Right Honourable John Ponsonby.

At a full Meeting of the Iverk Volunteers, at Besborough, on the 26th May 1782.

Major OSBORNE in the chair.

Resolved, That the following Address be forwarded by our Secretary to Lieutenant Colonel Cox, now in Dublin, who is requested to wait upon that ornament of his country, Colonel Grattan, and to present it to him in the name of this corps.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

We, the Iverk Volunteers, having this day assembled to testify our joy with the usual military rejoicings, on receiving an account of the wise and liberal conduct of the British Parliament, respecting the just claims of Ireland, and the news of the recent successes of his Majesty's arms in both the Indies, think this a proper opportunity to join with our countrymen, in offering to you, the able and effectual advocate of our rights, our most sincere thanks. The successful exertions you have made, deserve, and have obtained the gratitude and applause of this brave and emancipated nation.

The liberty of an ancient and loyal kingdom asserted, her privileges vindicated, her free constitution recovered, and her commerce restored (after a suspension of them for successive ages) without a contest or convulsion, is a revolution which the annals of no other country can record. This great event, as singular in its nature as it must prove beneficient in its effects, we have seen happily accomplished by the spirit, zeal, and perseverance, which your example, and your eloquence, have diffused through all the classes of the people.

The occasion is new and important, and we find ourselves at a loss for expressions of thanks adequate to our feelings. We want words equal to your praise. We cannot find them in the common forms of language. But you enjoy what is infinitely more desirable than any praise which even the most chosen terms could convey; you enjoy the approbation of your own heart.

To the gracious intentions of our Sovereign; to the wise and liberal conduct of the present popular and patriotic administration in England, as well as to the kind dispositions of his Grace the Duke of Portland, concerning the constitutional rights of this country, and to the united efforts of the many respectable characters who assisted your endeavours in Parliament, we shall be always ready with all our countrymen, to yield the most grateful and sincere acknowledgments.

As a corps of independent Volunteers, we have one favour to ask, and we are persuaded we shall not ask in vain. We request your permission to have the honour of enrolling you a member of the Iverk Volunteers. When, with your consent, we shall dignify our roll with your name, we shall consider ourselves not as conferring, but as receiving an obligation.

Signed by Order,
PETER WALSH, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

To be enrolled as a member of your body is a favour conferred upon me. As such I accept it with much ardour and many thanks.

I feel with you great satisfaction at the events which have taken place, or are near at hand.

Your own uniformity and spirit have greatly contributed to them. You are now to receive the reward of your virtuous perseverance.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your obedient humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

28th May, 1782.

COUNTY DUBLIN LIGHT DRAGOONS.

Right Honourable LUKE GARDINER in the chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That it is the opinion of this Corps, that the redress of grievances promised in his Grace the Lord Lieutenant's speech, is a perfect and unconditional acquiescence in all the demands made by this country, and must be considered as giving full contentment and satisfaction to the people of Ireland; and that those grievances being removed, no constitutional question between the two countries will exist to disturb the harmony of either.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this Corps, that the pre-eminent abilities and uniform integrity of our worthy countryman HENRY GRATTAN, claim extraordinary distinction; and we anticipate the singular satisfaction which every Irishman must feel, at the legislature conferring on him a substantial mark of public favour, becoming the gratitude of a great nation, and worthy the acceptance of a great man*.

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* A grant of £50,000.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented to Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

Deeply interested in the fate of our country, we reflect with satisfaction, that from the first dawning of your magnanimous efforts in favor of its Liberty, to this hour of universal felicitation, when every object of true patriotism is obtained we have entirely coincided in your sentiments.

Ireland and you, Sir, stand in the page of history peculiar and unexampled. By the exertions of your superior nature she has recovered her freedom without shedding her blood.

Tempering the fire of your exalted genius with the cool discretion of a statesman, you critically improved the seasonable occasion of asserting the spirit of Ireland, when the prudence of Great Britain made it safe and honourable to yield to the dictates of justice.

In the great question between the sister countries, it is difficult to determine to which you have been most decisively a friend, to have conducted the one with dignified temper, to have dispelled the old prejudices of the other, and to have connected both by ties of indissoluble affection, has elevated you on the pyramid of their united strength above the ordinary level of mankind.

LUKE GARDINER, Colonel.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

If I were to consult my feelings on the subject of your Address, I should receive it with silent acknowledgemnt, sensible of your expressions and unable to answer. Declining therefore, that part of which I make the subject, I am to admire your firmness which would accept of nothing less than a free constitution, and having obtained that blessing, knows how to stop. With that spirit you have obtained and will keep (as you have deserved) Liberty. To enjoy it in common with you, as it is my first wish, so will it be my chief happiness.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

At a Meeting of the Inhabitants and Volunteers in the neighbourhood of Mulf, in the county of Londonderry, the 29th of May, to celebrate the triumph of Ireland on the resurrection of her rights, and the signal victory of Britain over the Gallic flag by the brave Rodney, the following Address was agreed to.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

We are at a loss which most to admire, the honesty of your heart, your abilities as a senator, or your spirit as a man. By these united qualities, you have now fully restored to your country her long lost rights; you have raised a temple of Irish Liberty for Irishmen to worship, in which all religions are united, and for the *support* of which they have dedicated their lives and fortunes. You early breathed into the people a spirit of liberty, you more than watched its growth from infancy to manhood, you gave it *nourishment*, and you gave it *instruction*, you found Ireland *blind* and you gave her sight, *weak* and you made her *strong*, rent with *divisions* and you cemented her, *enslaved* and you made her *free*.

Your virtue and moderation acquired you the confidence of cautious men, and pointed you out as the safest guide for the warm; as you were above corruption on the one hand, on the other you were above ambition, with too much *spirit* for a bribe, and too much honesty to foment or rise by *commotions* of the state, you have not divided but cemented, not claimed for a party but for the nation, not for yourself but for a whole people. To them and to their claims you prescribed just and constitutional bounds, you inculcated a reverence for the laws, loyalty to the King, and an affectionate attachment to Britain, as far as she was willing to meet us in that affection. As you had warmed the Irish so have you warmed the English nation, the King, the British ministry, her parliament and her people warmed by your glow of liberty, and the virtue of the Irish nation, have made a full return to our affection, and we *feel its effects*; the native spirit that was collected for the rights of Ireland, is now directed to the most ardent desire to signalize itself for the support of Britain, may the empire be soon re-united in its former splendor, may America have many GRATTANS, may she throw off all unnatural connections, and *like Ireland* shake hands with the parent state, on principles equally free and constitutional.

To you Sir, what is due for bringing about this great union of interest and affection between the two nations? Though nothing can be more *honourable* than the marked distinction you received from your country; from your Sovereign, you deserve something more *substantial*, and nothing will be more to his own honor. As a representative of the people you have done every thing that can be done, as a minister we wish to see you unite the virtue of government with the virtue of the people.

Forwarded with the greatest respect by
SPENCER HUEY, Chairman.

Mulf, near Londonderry,
29th May, 1782.

LIBERTY VOLUNTEERS.

AT a general Meeting of the Liberty Volunteers, 29th May, 1782,
Colonel Sir EDWARD NEWENHAM in the chair.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the following Address be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.

SIR,

WE the officers and privates of the Liberty Volunteers, most sincerely thank you for your uniform, steady, and at last successful exertions, in support of the rights and liberties of Ireland.

Though repeatedly opposed by large majorities in Parliament, your manly perseverance has been crowned with success. While Ireland is a nation, your name must stand recorded as the restorer of its freedom. May your life be long, that you may participate the happiness and blessings you have rendered your country; and may succeeding ages remember your name with gratitude!

The conduct of our sister kingdom on the present occasion has, if possible, united us more firmly to them. Blest with equal freedom, and actuated with a reciprocal affection, we will share her fate. We always revered the antient constitution of the English nation, and could not but sympathize with our fellow subjects at the deep and repeated wounds given to it by the late administration. It was reserved to the present patriotic ministers to heal those wounds, and unite in the tenderest of ties two nations, whose interests ever must be the same. They never gave, nor could give, a stronger proof of inheriting the spirit of their great forefathers than by their late unanimous accession to our claims, as expressed in that memorable Address, moved by you, Sir, on the 16th of April last. On that motion depended Ireland's fate! The patriotism and abilities of a GRATTAN prevailed, and the glorious emancipation of Ireland has been effected!

Signed by Order,
ROB. WALKER, Sec.

Resolved, That the Colonel and the rest of the officers do wait upon Mr. GRATTAN with the above Address, and that the same, together with Mr. GRATTAN's answer, be inserted in the public papers.

ROB. WALKER, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I THANK you, in the sincerity of my heart, for your public spirited Address. Your Corps always expressed decided opinions on public occasions: — your spirit and generosity have always been signalized upon every great question. I am happy to be an object of your approbation — and I will endeavour to keep that opinion which you so liberally entertain of me.

I am, Gentlemen, with many thanks,
Your most obedient Servant,
30th May, 1782. HENRY GRATTAN.

COUNAGH RANGERS.

AT a full Meeting of the Counagh Rangers, commanded by the Right Hon. the Lord Muskerry, on the 30th day of May, 1782, at Hospital, in the county of Limerick,

Colonel PERCIVAL in the chair.

THE following Address was unanimously resolved on, and that the chairman should transmit it to our Colonel, Lord Muskerry, to be by him presented to Mr. GRATTAN, and that said Address and Mr. GRATTAN's answer be published in the Dublin and Limerick papers.

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

Sir,

Praise is so often prostituted, that the language of panegyric is in some degree grown into disrepute. But, Sir, when that language is applied to you, it were impossible to suspect the sincerity of those who bestowed it upon a character, whose merit transcends all praise.

To a mind like yours, after the great and arduous things you have accomplished, its own feelings must be its own reward. It is not, therefore, to compliment you, Sir, it is to gratify ourselves, that we beg leave to express the obligations under which you have laid us, in common with every Irishman, in a manner as public, as it is deeply rooted in our hearts.

You have raised a fallen nation, you have restored a violated constitution, and you will also have the glory of uniting us to our sister kingdom, by the only cement by which the two nations can ever be hereafter united, reciprocal friendship, mutual confidence, common interests, and common liberty.

When we say, Sir, that you have done this, we mean not to depreciate the merit of your worthy and able co-adjutors, their country owes them much, but integrity of intention, wisdom in council, and eloquence in debate, will not alone be found competent to reinstate an oppressed people, in their long lost rights. There is an holy zeal and secret ardour in the glorious cause he has embraced, which must mark the character of him who can rise into the favour of his country; these animate and invigorate public virtue, they warm it into an active and efficient principle — in these, Sir, you stand unrivaled, and whilst we pay the tribute of gratitude so justly due to the other friends of Ireland, the first alter erected in the temple of Irish liberty must be dedicated to you.

Resolved, That this Corps have the honour of enrolling Colonel Henry Grattan, as an honorary member of the Counagh Rangers.

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our chairman for his polite conduct in the chair.

Signed by Order,

JOHN LLOYD, Secretary to the C. R.

Which Resolutions being presented by Lord Muskerry to Colonel Grattan, he gave the following answer.

Gentlemen,

Let me thank you, by a constant attention to your interests, and by a uniform attachment to the public good, let me seek to justify those panegyrics, which a sanguine and generous nation, in the warmth of its feelings, is pleased to bestow.

The emancipation of this country, and the new strength given to her connexion with Great Britain, are facts I acknowledge and rejoice at; they were produced by the joint act of the nation; with her I wish to partake the honour and enjoy the blessing.

I thank you for admitting me an honorary member of your body, and assure you I feel most sensibly these marks of distinction, and am,

With the greatest respect,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

DOWN FUZILEERS.

At a Meeting of the Down Fuzileers, held at Downpatrick, 30th May, 1782.

Captain TROTTER in the chair.

Resolved, That having with admiration long contemplated the astonishing and hitherto unequalled abilities of Henry Grattan, Esq. which he hath so powerfully, and at length successfully, displayed, in support of the rights and liberties of Ireland — we the officers and privates of the Down Fuzileers, do think ourselves in duty bound thus publicly to return him, and do request his acceptance of, our warmest and most sincere thanks, for his very splendid exertions in the cause of his country.

Signed by Order,
JOHN SPEER, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my most hearty thanks for your Resolution: — I accept most gratefully of your kind and generous Address, and request of you to accept of my sincere acknowledgments.

am, with great respect,
Your most humble obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

7th June, 1782.

THIRD ULSTER REGIMENT.

Newtownlimavady, 31st May, 1782.

At a Meeting of the Third Ulster Regiment of Volunteers, commanded by Lord Le Poer, on parade, the following Address to Henry Grattan, Esq. was unanimously agreed to.

Sir,

Whilst with unbounded joy we welcome the important news of the redress of our national grievances, and the emancipation of our country from the bold and long continued usurpations of a foreign legislature, it would be the basest ingratitude to forget the man by whose spirited, steady, and upright conduct, under the smiles of a propitious Providence, those inestimable blessings were, in a great measure, obtained.

Permit us, therefore, Sir, with hearts deeply sensible of the obligations which we, and every individual in this now happy kingdom owe you, to offer to your acceptance the just tribute of our unfeigned, our warmest acknowledgments.

That you may be long spared to be a blessing to this obliged nation — that, by a steady exertion of the eminent powers you possess, you may lay it under many renewed obligations; that you may receive the rewards due to such signal merit, and that the gratitude of the nation, as well as the memory of your active and successful zeal, to promote its best interests, may be perpetuated to the latest posterity, is our sincere, our ardent wish.

Signed by Order,
JOHN GIVEN, Jun. Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

Accept my sincere thanks for your most flattering Address. I will not fail to persevere in the cause of this country. The success which has attended our measures, and the generous affection of the kingdom, encourage and bind me to her for ever. With that fixed and unalterable sentiment,

I am, with great respect,
Your most humble obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CORK CAVALRY.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir, County Cork, May, 1782.

To say that you have been the constant assertor of your country's rights; that by the virtuous exertions of great abilities, you have been the redeemer of her liberty, and that the name of Grattan will not only be revered by the present, but transmitted to after ages with honor, acquired in the most noble cause, is but to echo the general voice of a whole nation. We can add nothing to your praise. Give us leave, however, to join in the thanks of a grateful people; and as a testimony of our regard, to enroll you an honorary member of the Cork Cavalry.

WILLIAM CHETWYND, Col.

FIRST IVEAGH BATTALION.

At a Meeting of the First Iveagh Battalion of Volunteers, at Gilford, on Saturday, the 1st of June, 1782.

Colonel Sir RICHARD JOHNSTON, Bart. in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That one delegate from each company of the battalion be appointed to attend the meeting of the Ulster Volunteers, at Dungannon, on Friday the 21st instant.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Addresses be presented to Henry Grattan and Peter Metge, Esqrs., and printed, with their answers, in the Dublin Evening Post, and Belfast News-Letter.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

THIS battalion early noticed your virtuous exertions in the service of your country, and thanked you for your endeavours. Your manly steadiness and noble perseverance in accomplishing the rights of Ireland, are now the objects of their gratitude. To you the Irish nation is indebted for the respectable situation she holds among the nations of Europe.

It must, therefore, give us heart-felt satisfaction to find, by a late vote of the House of Commons, that our Parliament, echoing the voice of the people, purposes to transmit to posterity, in a manner honourable to you and to them, the name and family of the dignified illustrious assertor of their laws and constitution.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE before received your approbation, and am happy to receive it again. The repetition of thanks is an argument of my uniformity, and an honourable proof of your generous sense of it. I hope the Irish nation will always stand high among the nations of Europe.

The honours heaped upon me by a generous nation, I will endeavour to transmit by uniformity, and by an unalterable attachment to that nation, to which, upon many considerations, I am bound for ever.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

To PETER METGE, Esq.

SIR,

YOUR independent conduct in Parliament has been always particularly acceptable to us. Your abilities and integrity in the line of your profession, many of us have experienced, but the nation at large is obliged to you for the firm, able, and decided part you took on the arrangement of the sugar duties, and for your declaration in the House of Commons, (which carried weight and conviction with it,) "That the people of Ireland are only represented by their delegates in the House of Commons, and that to deny that position, would be an abdication of that representation." In short, Sir, we found you, upon every public question, the firm friend and the able advocate of the people.

To see men of such characters and such principles, as Mr. Burgh, Mr. Yelverton, Mr. Forbes, and you, called to fill the first department of the law, must be at this period peculiarly pleasing to the nation. In testimony of our respect and attachment to you, we have this day enrolled you an honorary member of one of the oldest battalions in the province of Ulster.

Mr. Metge's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

HAD my endeavours, to deserve the praise of my countrymen, kept pace with my inclinations, your very flattering approbation would have been less partially bestowed. I am gratified by the honourable manner in which you mention my parliamentary and professional conduct. At this period, and under an administration, whose principles are as new as they are virtuous, employment in office is a post of honour; but be my situation what it may, it shall ever be my study to discharge my duty to the public.

I have the honour to be,
With great respect, Gentlemen,
Your most obliged, and faithful humble Servant,
PETER METGE.

KING'S COUNTY.

LEAP INDEPENDENTS.

AT a full Meeting of the Leap Independents, on the 2d of June, 1782.

Colonel DARBY in the chair.

THE following Resolutions and Address were unanimously agreed to.

RESOLVED unanimously, That an Address be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. expressive of the opinion we entertain of his great abilities, and the services he has done his country.

Resolved unanimously, That HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. be, and is hereby elected an honorary member of this Corps, and that our worthy associates Henry Palmer, Verney Darby, and John Palmer, Esqrs. now in Dublin, be requested to wait on HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. with these our resolutions, and the following Address:

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

THE contest is at an end. The agitation of the public mind settled to content. Every cause of jealousy removed, and the tie of indissoluble affection, we hope, for ever fixed. The honour of the nation retrieved — her rights ascertained. In every stage of this great business, the wisdom, firmness, and moderation that have graced your conduct, have delighted an attentive, determined people.

Accept the thanks of a Corps of Independent Volunteers — accept the voluntary tribute of their feelings. We have viewed your virtuous endeavours in Parliament with approving exultation — we participate your joy at their success. We have the sincerest satisfaction in thinking, that future ages will receive a character handed down to them, graced with every virtue that can adorn a man, whilst the present one looks up with admiration to HENRY GRATTAN, the unplaced, unpensioned, deliverer of his country.

JONATHAN DARBY, Chairman.

Colonel Darby having left the chair,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this meeting be returned to Colonel Darby, our worthy chairman, for his polite and upright conduct in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Corps be presented to John Palmer, Esq. for his propriety of conduct, and particular attention to the business of this Corps, as secretary.

Resolved, That the above Resolutions and Address, together with Mr. Grattan's answer, be inserted in the Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by Order,
9th June, 1782. JOHN PALMER, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I thank you most sincerely for appointing me a member of your Corps. *The firm tone of your spirit, qualified by temper —the clear and defined objects for which you were ready to sacrifice your lives — that disposition to be satisfied, and that determination to be free, constitute every thing which tends to secure the accomplishment of a great undertaking.* The nation that treats with you, must always perceive how dangerous it is to be your enemy, and how practicable it is to be your friend.

In the most entire confidence in your virtue, and with every acknowledgment for your Address,

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most humble obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CARLOW ASSOCIATION.

At a general Meeting of the Carlow Association, held at Carlow, the second day of June, 1782.

Major EUSTACE in the chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to, and William Burton, Esq. our Colonel, requested to present it.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

Permit us to congratulate you on the unspeakable satisfaction this long injured nation feels from the universal acknowledgment of her rights.

With hearts glowing with that warmth which so glorious a prospect diffuses, we take this opportunity of returning our thanks to you, the principal cause of so desirable an event.

We behold with joy our virtuous countrymen actuated by the most grateful sentiments, publicly expressing their thanks to you, their deliverer.

We are no less happy at the tribute paid by our Parliament to your unequalled merit, and rejoice that one* of the representatives for our county was foremost in proposing what is so perfectly consonant to our wishes.

Inadequate as we are to the task, to do justice to your exalted abilities, yet we cannot refrain from giving some public mark of our approbation to a conduct so highly virtuous, which we hope may ever meet its due reward, and the name of GRATTAN be handed down with reverence and esteem to the latest posterity.

HARDY EUSTACE, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received from your county distinguished honour. Mr. Burton, your worthy member, has presented your Address of the highest and most dignified approbation.

Mr. Bagenal, your other member, was the person who moved in the House of Commons a resolution honourable to me as a testimony of national approbation, and honourable as the original and spontaneous sentiment of a man, whose high and decided mind is composed of native worth and undaunted integrity.

I congratulate my country on her acquisitions, and myself on her approbation — and am too much attached to both to relinquish either.

With sincere thanks,
I am, Gentlemen, most sincerely,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

5th June, 1782.

ORMOND INDEPENDENTS.

AT a Meeting of the Ormond Independents, on their parade, June 3, 1782.

Colonel TOLER in the chair.

IT was resolved to have the following Address presented.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

THOUGH it is scarcely possible to add any thing to that praise which a grateful people have conferred on you as their benefactor, yet, we beg to offer our tribute to the general acclamation of joy which surrounds you.

You inspired your countrymen with the divinity of toleration.

You animated them to a sense of their rights: —

And you have established their civil and religious liberties upon the firmest basis.

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* Beauchamp Bagenal, Esq.

You have been the mediator to conciliate two great nations; they have both listened with attention to the dictates of that superior virtue, which has shone forth as the polar-star of their common course.

Great Britain has been wise and just — Ireland is dignified and contented.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

Your short and full Address, comprehensive and complimentative, stating, with happy distinguishing expressions the conduct of each kingdom, and full of a firm and reconciling spirit, does to the object of your praise the most singular and conspicuous honour.

I admire, with you, the spirit of toleration.

I admire, with you, the civil and religious liberty of my country.

I admire, with you, our connection with the British nation, and with you will I dedicate myself to the preservation of these important objects. In that mind,

I am, Gentlemen, with the highest respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

GRAIGUE VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Volunteers of Graigue, in the Queen's County, 3d June, 1782.

Colonel HERRING in the chair.

The following Address to Henry Grattan, Esq. was unanimously agreed to.

Sir,

Prompted by admiration of your unparaleled abilities, and by gratitude for the important services you have done your country, we beg leave to join ours to the public voice, and to return you our warmest acknowledgments for the signal services you have done this kingdom, and the great example you have set for future ages. We cannot but feel particularly happy that a substantial mark of national distinction has been conferred on the redeemer of our liberties, and its being carried unanimously must give the most heartfelt satisfaction to every patriotic Irishman, who, we are convinced, all repined that your great moderation made you decline any part of the small tribute* to which your merit is so justly entitled from a rising nation, which feels herself growing mighty under your auspices.

We congratulate you on the late happy change in his Majesty's ministers and councils, and on the glorious success that has immediately attended it, a change on which Providence itself seems to look down well pleased. As Ireland has now a king who sincerely desires the general good of his subjects — as his throne is now surrounded by upright ministers, both able and willing to carry his gracious intentions into execution; and as it has in its senate such illustrious characters as CHARLEMONT and GRATTAN, what is there it may not expect.—It has been already raised to a degree of consequence it never knew before, and as we were ready in the day of England's adversity, to share her fate, we trust, that when peace shall be restored, we shall with her enjoy the greatest public felicity, and transmit the same to our latest posterity.

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* It was intended to have voted £100,000 to Mr. Grattan, but at his instance the grant was reduced to £50,000.

Signed by Order,
J. CRISP, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

THE happy change in his Majesty's ministers and councils has been attended with all the success, which a constitutional government at home gives to national exertions abroad. I hope we shall share that public felicity, which naturally attends a free constitution, and a free commerce; as far as the efforts of one man can promise, I will not fail to apply myself to the preservation of both. Bound, as I am, to my country, by every tie which her praise, her generosity, common interest, public pride, and natural affection can furnish, I shall contribute my mite to preserve the purity of her constitution, and the vigour of the public mind.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CITY OF CORK.

AT a general Meeting of the True Blue Legion, holden at the County Court-House, on Tuesday the 4th of June, 1782.

RESOLVED, That HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. be, and is hereby unanimously elected an honorary member of this corps.

JOHN TERRY, Secretary.

KING'S COUNTY.

VOLUNTEER MEETING.

AT a Meeting of Delegates from seventeen Corps of Volunteers, held at Birr, June the 4th, 1782.

RESOLVED unanimously, That Colonel Armstrong, of Gillen, do take the Chair.

Colonel ARMSTRONG in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the following Address be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq., and that Sir William Parsons, Bart. be requested to present the same.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

In this day of general joy—in this auspicious dawn of liberty—in this moment when the nation beats high with transport, and every heart heaves with virtuous exultation; when confidence has supplanted distrust; when the affection of his Majesty has been displayed, in redressing the distresses of his people; when the only contest that remains, is an emulation to make the connection between the two kingdoms, firm and indissoluble; at this period of the completion of our wishes, grateful praise and thanks are due to that active, disinterested man, who with solid virtue and public spirit, has stood forth the guardian genius of this kingdom, conducted her through every difficulty, and restored her to her rights with certainty, and without blood; we therefore request your acceptance of a gold medal, as a token of our collected respect.

A spirit was raised among the people; a spirit which sprang from information and conviction, had diffused itself, not only through all orders of men, but to men of all denominations; a national spirit solely directed to the national interest; your happy management of this spirit has recovered our constitution, a constitution consisting of original rights, co-equal with prerogative, and co-eval with government.

Every stage of life will bear testimony to such unexampled virtue; decrepid age, with its latest breath, will utter forth your praise, whilst eager youth, with aspiring zeal, shall emulate a Grattan's fame; and when the calm days of returning peace shall bless this nation, industry shall cheer her weary sons with tales of Ireland's benefactor.

We partake, with you, of the national joy at the brilliant successes of his Majesty's arms in both the Indies; attached as we have ever been to Great Britain, we now feel ourselves deeply engaged in her happiness; encompassed with foes, we glory to see her rise superior to their efforts; and implore that great power that guides the fate of empire, that she may rise majestic over a wondering world.

Sir William Parsons accordingly waited on Colonel Grattan with the Address, to which he received the following answer.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I receive with thanks your warm address, and equally admire the firm and the temperate spirit which suggests it; that spirit which first led you to insist on your rights, and prescribed to itself the honorable boundary of privilege and moderation. Clear in your objects, and invariable in your pursuits, you have obtained a victory over the pride and the affections of Great Britain, and have won her heart as well as her constitution; in this amity we will proceed; an amity founded on common liberty and the surrender of unconstitutional claims; in this amity we will proceed against the enemies of the British empire, united among ourselves by the bands of toleration, and bound to England by the ties of liberty.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

INDEPENDENT ENNISKILLENERS.

At a Meeting of the Independent Enniskilleners, held at Enniskillen, on the 4th day of June, 1782.

WILLIAM STEWART, Esq. in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

At a time when the whole kingdom is so unanimous in returning you their most grateful thanks, for the surprising revolution in the affairs of this country, which you, by your exalted abilities, noble spirit, and steady perseverance, have effected, the Independent Enniskilleners would surely be deficient in respect, to so revered a character as Henry Grattan; and do violence to the warm emotion of their souls, if they did not pour their small tribute of gratitude into the common fund. But when we would express our sensations on this occasion, words are wanting, the heart labours, and the pen is laid down in silent disappointment.

Accept then, great Sir, our hearts instead of words, our feelings instead of expressions. Accept, in unadorned language, our sincerest thanks.

May you long, long live the saviour of your country, and the friend of mankind, and when you are called to those high regions, which are composed of the most exalted spirits, may the beams of your setting sun, illuminate and invigorate the breasts of the then rising generation; may the flame of liberty be cherished and kept alive, and may Ireland never want a Grattan to defend her rights.

WILLIAM STEWART, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

With a very high sense of the honor you confer, and a very great respect for your approbation, I return you my sincere thanks.

I have endeavoured to do the public, service, her sense of it has been more than my desert. I think I shall not forfeit her esteem.

I am, with the greatest respect,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

COUNTY OF DUBLIN.

RATHDOWN LIGHT DRAGOONS.

AT a general Meeting of the Troop, the 8th day of June, 1782.

Lieuteuant JOHN FARRAN in the Chair.

IT was unanimously resolved, That the following Address should be presented to Colonel HENRY GRATTAN.

SIR,

YOUR virtuous and patriotic exertions in parliament, in support of the rights of Ireland, demand our warmest acknowledgments; we congratulate you on their success, and beg leave to present you with this public testimony of our gratitude and respect.

JOHN FARRAN, Chairman.

RESOLVED, That the above address, and Colonel GRATTAN'S answer, be published in the public newspapers.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I RECEIVE this testimony of your approbation, with all due acknowledgment. I rejoice at the success of our measures, and am, with great respect and regard,

Your most obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

FIRST TYRONE REGIMENT.

AT a Meeting of Officers delegated by the First Tyrone Regiment, consisting of the Killymoon and Strabane Battalions, the following Address was unanimously agreed upon.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

THE present is a glorious period—it will be recorded with praise and admiration in the annals of our country. Our fond hopes will be realized—the chains which have bound the dearest privileges of Irishmen for centuries, are to be no more. Our virtuous patriots are entitled to the warmest thanks; the First Tyrone Regiment are not insensible to their merits; but, to you, Sir, whose persevering magnanimity in the public cause, whose successful efforts, in behalf of our rights, have shined with the brightest lustre, they pour out the overflowings of their gratitude.

The sixteenth of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, when you moved an amendment of the address to his Majesty, comprehensive of all our wishes, and unanimously adopted by the representatives of the people, will, for ages to come, be a monument to your praise.

It can never be forgotten, the genius of liberty has ratified the edict: — "Let the laurels with which I have crowned Henry Grattan, the saviour of his country, be immortal."

Signed by Order,
JAMES ORR, Adjutant S. B.
ROBERT WHITE, Adjutant K. B.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I do think the present is a very glorious period; your exertions have greatly contributed — you have inspirited, you have rewarded, and by every species of wise and spirited conduct, have forwarded that cause, which is now brought to maturity.

The share I have had in the late transactions, has been in common with you, to you, therefore, let me communicate part of the praise, and acknowledging at once your liberality and virtue,

Believe me to be,
With the highest esteem,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

9th June, 1782.

COUNTY OF CARLOW MEETING.

At a Meeting of the Delegates of the Tullow Cavalry, Leighlin, Palantinetown, Tullow Infantry, and Hackettstown Fusileers, held at Hackettstown, co. Carlow, the 10th of June, 1782.

Colonel ROCHFORT in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to, and our Chairman requested to present it.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

Amidst the universal plaudits of a grateful people, permit us to join our voice to that of the nation; sensible how little it can add to your glory, yet we should deem ourselves both deficient in our duty and unfaithful to our warmest feelings, did we neglect to offer this sincere and grateful tribute, to those exalted virtues and superior abilities which have restored us to freedom, and our native country to its just rights.

Little reason had we, at the beginning of this important session, to flatter ourselves that any human efforts could stem that torrent of corruption, which threatened to overwhelm us in eternal slavery and ruin; but what could not the manly perseverance and powerful eloquence of a Grattan effect, supported by a few, but illustrious patriots in the senate — the invincible spirit of a brave and determined nation. The corruptors are vanquished, and the corrupted, awed to a proper sense of their duty, are now become the faithful representatives of the people; happy are we to observe them displaying it, by uniting to acknowledge and reward your virtue, and doubly happy to find them first called upon so to do by our own worthy representative, Mr. Bagenal, who, as he ably and honorably acquitted himself to his constituents, so hath he on this occasion, become the representative of the whole nation.

May that Divine Providence, which adorned you with those superior powers to render you the deliverer, long continue you the guardian and protector, as well as the pride of your country—and may your posterity for ages enjoy that reward, which, however, unequal to your deserts, are superior to any thing which titles or preferment can bestow.

RICHARD ROCHFORT, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your Address with that satisfaction and gratitude, which every man should feel, when those approve of his conduct, whose approbation he venerates. The freedom of this country, I hope, is established for ever. Sure, I am, *that as long as the final adjustment shall be faithfully adhered to, nothing can shake our rights.* I have, in this business, taken a part with other honorable and public spirited men. Your favor has distinguished me, but others have the same pretensions.

The latter part of your address does me too much honor to admit of an answer, other than to say, that I admire with you, that great character and upright senator, who has done me so distinguished an honor; an honor, which I conceive heightened by being proposed by Mr. Bagenal.

I am, Gentlemen, with great thanks,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

The ADDRESS of the GARRYCASTLE LIGHT CAVALRY.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR, 13th June, 1782.

WE should blush at appearing so late amongst our brother volunteers, in acknowledging the eternal obligations, we, and the kingdom in general, owe to you, but that we are conscious of grateful hearts, however deficient we may be in the time or mode of declaring our gratitude.

Dear as the blessing of *established* constitutional liberty has been, is, and shall, through all ages be, to the happy possessors of it, so dear must the name of GRATTAN ever be to those, who have so long wished for, and at last roused to assert it.

It is much to be apprehended, that all our exertions, however spirited—all our resolutions to recover our long lost liberty at the risk of life and fortune, might, for the present, have been vain, had we not been so admirably seconded by the irresistible freedom of speech, the irrefragable eloquence of our esteemed and beloved brother volunteer, Colonel GRATTAN, who, with the perseverance of another Cato, has secured the blessings of the ever-smiling goddess, to us and our posterity.

Long, very long, may our country enjoy the unspeakable glory of possessing such a patriot, and you the heartfelt satisfaction, of having obtained the greatest of blessings for the most grateful country.

Permit us, dear Sir, to have the honor of enrolling your revered name with those of your united and steady corps.

Signed by order,
ROBERT THOMPSON, Sec.

AUGHNACLOY VOLUNTEERS.

THE Aughnacloy Volunteers, on full parade, agreed to the following Address, and ordered it to be transmitted to their Colonel, Nathaniel Montgomery, Esq., to be by him presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.

SIR,

IMPRESSED with the deepest sense of gratitude, the Aughnacloy Volunteers beg leave to return you their most warm and sincere thanks, for your unwearied exertions in favor of the constitution, liberties, and future advantages of this hitherto unfortunate kingdom. They take a pride in declaring their firm intentions of supporting, with their lives and properties, those resolutions you have often introduced into that house, of which you are so distinguished an ornament.

They have recorded them.—By such pages will the name of GRATTAN be handed down, justly dear to posterity; nor will they leave an useless lesson to mankind, that though tyranny and corruption may flourish for a time, yet must they at length yield to exalted talents, aided by such fortitude, and actuated by such virtue as you have, for years past, held forth to an attending, an admiring, and an astonished world.

THOMAS FORESYTH, Captain.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR worthy Colonel, and my honest associate in all national questions, has presented to me your most flattering address. I thank you most sincerely, and do assure you, that the honors you confer, though above my desert, are not conferred without effect. They determine and exhort me in the pursuit of that conduct, which has excited your approbation, and from which I will not depart.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most faithful and humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

11th June, 1782.

CORK UNION.

At a general Meeting of the Cork Union, held at the County Court-House, on Thursday the 13th day of June, 1782.

Resolved unanimously, That a piece of plate be presented by this corps, to Henry Grattan, Esq., as a testimony of our gratitude for the many eminent and distinguished services he has rendered this country; and that Richard Moore, Esq. and such other members of the corps as are now in Dublin, be requested to attend Mr. Grattan therewith.

Published by order,
JAMES GREGG, Secretary.

The said piece of plate having been accordingly presented, Mr. Grattan gave the following answer.

Gentlemen, 27th June, 1782.

I have received by the hands of some of the worthy members of your corps, a strong testimony of your approbation; I shall view it as a memorial of your generosity, and a perpetual suggestion to my own uniformity. Pledged by the acceptance to the conduct which has drawn your attention, I am bound to you and the cause for ever.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect and thanks,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

COUNTY OF WICKLOW.

BARONY OF TALBOTSTOWN.

At a general Meeting of the Talbotstown Invincibles, the 13th of June, 1782.

Lieut. Colonel HUME in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to, and that our Colonel, Nicholas Westby, Esq. do present the same.

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

Sir,

We request you will honor us with your permission to enroll you a member of our corps, that posterity may know how far the principles of our association were approved of by the restorer of the rights of Ireland.

Resolved, That this Address, with Colonel Grattan's answer, be published.

WILLIAM HUME, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I thank you for the honor conferred, by enrolling me a member of your corps, the reason which you allege heightens the favor. I shall be faithful to the principles which have formed your association, and attracted your applause.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

LOUGHINSHILLEN VOLUNTEERS.

At a general Meeting of the Loughinshillen Battalion of Volunteers, held at Castle-Dawson, on Friday the 14th of June, 1782, the following Address to Henry Grattan, Esq. was unanimously agreed to; to be presented by the Right Honorable Thomas Conolly.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

When in your person we find united the most exalted virtue, and the most splendid abilities; and when we see you thus qualified, dedicate your talents to the public service, no language is strong enough to express our sense of such uncommon merit.— We therefore can only join with the rest of the nation, in declaring, that to your virtue, abilities, and perseverance, we think ourselves indebted for the restoration of our constitutional liberties. All ranks of Irishmen are now perfectly content, and every sincere friend of this country will join with you, in giving the warmest support to an administration, who, having fulfilled the wishes of the people, are justly entitled to their confidence.

With infinite satisfaction, we have heard of the very honorable manner in which our virtuous representatives in parliament, have marked their approbation of your conduct. May you long live to enjoy, as we are convinced you will ever deserve, the highest rewards which can be conferred upon you, by your grateful fellow-citizens.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

Your satisfaction arising from your liberty, is a just and honourable sentiment—your wish to support a ministry, under whom the rights of your country have been restored, is a justice both to them and to yourselves.—I am sensibly touched by the expressions you have delivered in my favor. Happy to meet with your approbation, I will labour to preserve it.

I am, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

14th June, 1782.

FIRST ULSTER REGIMENT,

Commanded by the Right Hon. James, Earl of Charlemont.

At a Meeting of the Officers of the Southern Battalion of said Regiment, consisting of twelve companies, on the 14th of June instant, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed upon.

Captain HARRIS in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the several Addresses now read, be presented to our Colonel, The Right Hon. General, James, Earl of Charlemont, Colonel Grattan, Lieutenant Colonel Brownlow, Lieutenant Colonel Dawson, and to Counsellor Metge.

Resolved unanimously, That the Chairman do transmit our Address to Lieutenant Colonel Brownlow and Lieutenant Colonel Dawson, and at the same time to request Lieutenant Colonel Dawson to wait upon our Colonel, General, James, Earl of Charlemont, Colonel Grattan, and Counsellor Metge, and to present to them respectively our Addresses.

Resolved, That said Addresses, with the several answers, be published in the Dublin Evening Post, Belfast News-letter, and the Newry Journal.

Signed by Order,
ROBERT BOYD, Ensign, T. & A. Volunteers, } Secretary.

At a public Town Meeting held at Newry, 20th June, 1782, the following Address was agreed to.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

We have observed with unvaried admiration, the perseverance and ability, with which you have supported the rights and the constitution of this country; and we beg of you to accept the tribute of our grateful applause.

Could Great Britain have remained insensible to the ill policy, as well as injustice of resisting our demands, our exertions were ready in your support, as our congratulations are now sincere on your success.

We add nothing to the applause you have justly received from the voice of your country, but our joining to make it universal, which we do, with the warmest approbation of your great and conspicuous abilities.

ISAAC CORRY,* Chairman.

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* On the 14th of February, 1800, he moved the first Resolution in favour of the Union! *proh hominum fides!*

ULSTER VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Delegates of three hundred and six Companies of the Volunteers' Army, of the province of Ulster, pursuant to public notice, held at Dungannon, on Friday the 21st day of June, 1782, the following Address to Henry Grattan, Esq. was unanimously agreed upon.

Colonel WILLIAM IRVINE in the Chair.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

Your own exertions, and the gratitude and good sense of your country, have placed you in the first of human stations.—You are constituted the arbiter between a government and a people—the guardian of a nation's rights, we had almost said, the preserver of an empire's union.—You were born for the occasion, the occasion only could have been worthy of you. That you may long live to enjoy, and, if possible, to increase the gratitude of your country, is the fervent wish of the Volunteers of Ulster, and they may safely say, of the people of Ireland.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

To a body of men celebrated as you have been—uniform as you have been, and effectual as you have been, I address myself, not with thanks only, but with respect and veneration.

You have done your country very eminent service, and you have done yourselves very considerable honor.

You began with the genuine spirit of liberty, and having obtained your rights, you have stopped to husband them.—*You held out to Great Britain, the option of separation or freedom—she has acceded to your freedom, and you have given her your friendship—a wise and generous policy.* Preserve your uniformity, and you preserve your association.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most humble, obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

At a Meeting of the Dunlavan Corps, held at Dunlavan, on Monday the 24th of June, 1782.

Sir JAMES STRATFORD TYNTE, Bart. in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir,

Convinced that no Address of ours can add lustre to your name; yet as Irishmen, and embarked in the common cause, we cannot, in justice to our feelings, and your distinguished merit, omit returning you our warmest thanks for your unremitted attention and virtuous perseverance, in establishing our constitution, by a declaration of our rights and liberties, and for the whole tenor of your parliamentary conduct, which, as citizens, we look up to with admiration and applause; we therefore beg your acceptance of this tribute, infinitely inadequate either to our feelings or your merit.

Resolved, That the above Address be presented by our chairman.

Resolved, That the above Address, and Mr. Grattan's answer, be published in the Dublin Evening Post and Carlow Journal.

DUBLIN INDEPENDENT VOLUNTEERS

To Mrs. Grattan.

Madam, 1782.

We feel a most sensible pleasure in this opportunity of expressing our grateful thanks, for the very superb and elegant pair of colours with which you have presented our corps.

The great cause of liberty and the rights of Ireland, first induced us to take arms; these objects we have steadily pursued, and will to our latest breath.

The flattering mark of approbation of a lady, who shines among the brightest ornaments of the fair, must inspire us with the double ardour to discharge the duty we owe our rising country; our pride shall be to follow our standard with unremitting zeal and intrepidity, maintaining the freedom this kingdom has so singularly acquired; convinced that you will consider the service of our country the most acceptable return for your obliging attention, and the most grateful manner of expressing the particular respect the Independent Dublin Volunteers entertain for you, who are distinguished for every perfection of your sex.

(Signed by order,)
OLIVER MILLER.

Mrs. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I am very sensible of the honour of your Address. I have taken the only method in my power to express my admiration of the volunteers, and of your corps in particular; and am happy that this small testimony of my esteem has met with your approbation.

HENRIETTA GRATTAN.

At a Meeting of the Belfast First Volunteer Company, on the 27th of June, 1782, the following Address was unanimously agreed to.

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

Sir,

The grateful feelings of a volunteer corps, which claims the honour of being the first association formed on the principle of general defence, will not, we hope, be unacceptable; you have the distinguished merit of early conceiving that the period was arrived when Ireland might demand her rights, and not far distant when she might secure them. The greatness of the idea marks the enlargement of your soul; and your unwearied perseverance in a succession of years, and a variety of forms, to realize that great idea, is the clearest proof of your incorruptible integrity, and unspotted patriotism. Doubts having being entertained, which, in our opinion, are well founded, whether the mere repeal of the 6th of George I. by the parliament of Britain, is in itself a sufficient renunciation of the power formerly exercised over this kingdom, we apprehend it would tend to general satisfaction, were the legislature of Ireland to enact a law similar to the late addresses to his Majesty; as its receiving the assent of a king in whom the two crowns are united, would, in our opinion, be an additional security to those others, in the acquisition of which you have already with so much ability and perseverance assisted. If the idea meet your approbation, (which from some expressions of yours in the House of Commons, we have reason to hope,) we cannot doubt your willingness to bring it forward.

We have the honour to be, Sir,
Your faithful humble Servants.

Signed by order,
WADDELL CUNNINGHAM, Chairman.

17th July, 1782.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I have delayed to return an answer to your Address, that I might have an opportunity of giving it the fullest consideration.

I have done so. I am sorry to differ from you. I conceive your doubt to be ill founded.

With great respect for your opinions, and unalterable attachment to your interest, I adhere to the latter.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

DUBLIN UNIVERSITY.

June, 1782.

It was this day Resolved, That an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, shall be conferred by diploma on Henry Grattan.

Esq., in token of the high respect which this society entertains for his public virtues and great abilities.

It was also RESOLVED, That the said Mr. GRATTAN be requested to sit for his picture; and that the said picture, at full length, be placed in the new theatre.*

THE unanimous Address of the High Sheriffs, Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the County of Longford, assembled at Longford, July 1st, 1782.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

WE, the High Sheriff, Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the county of Longford, beg leave, in the most public manner, to add our suffrage of your merits, to the unanimous plaudits of an admiring nation.

Residing in a county which you have sometimes honoured with your presence, we are happy in an opportunity of declaring that your social and private virtues can only be equalled by the splendour of your public character; a character which would have gained from ancient Rome in her meridian glory, the noblest of human titles, "The Father of his Country."

Born to defend the rights of mankind, you never deviated from the path of public virtue, but have stood forth the advocate of religious toleration and civil liberty, and uniformly exerted the most extended capacity in combating venality and corruption; rescuing our injured constitution from impolitic restraints; and finally, from a state of obscurity and inaction, exalting Ireland among nations.

To you every nervous term of respect and veneration has been applied and exhausted; conscious, therefore, of the inability of language, to express adequately your deserts, or our feelings, we decline the attempt; and though excess of praise, (if that were possible,) on this auspicious occasion would only be excess of virtue, we fear lest the overflowings of our sensibility, and the warmth of our honest admiration, should wound the ear of the man above all praise; who unites a singular delicacy to the most singular merits; and listens to the eulogies of fame but to deserve them.

May you, Sir, long enjoy the well-earned tribute of Ireland's gratitude, and the noble satisfaction of protecting that constitution, which your incorruptible integrity and irresistible eloquence have happily restored; and may the name of GRATTAN, the brightest star amid a constellation of worthies, ever animate the public mind, dignify the national character, and dispense virtue and consequent happiness to our latest posterity.

LEWIS MONTFORT, Sheriff.

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* This picture was taken down in 1798, and that of Lord Clare put in its place; but shortly before his death it was brought from the lumber room, and hung up in the dining hall.

FREEDOM OF DROGHEDA GRANTED.

To all People to whom these Presents shall come.

19th April, 1782.

We the Mayor, Sheriffs, Burgesses, and Commons of the county of the town of Drogheda, do send greeting.

Know ye, that we have unanimously granted, and do hereby present unto Henry Grattan, Esq. the full freedom, rights, and privileges of the corporation of the town and county of the town of Drogheda aforesaid, as a mark of our respect for his strenuous exertions, spirit, and perseverance in support of the rights of Ireland, manifested on all occasions, particularly by his amendment to the address of the House of Commons to his Majesty, on Tuesday the sixteenth day of April instant; in testimony whereof, we have hereunto affixed the seal of the said corporation, the nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two.

(Entered) WM. HOLMES.

This Address, accompanied by a gold box, with the arms of the corporation engraved on it, was presented to Mr. Grattan.

CORPORATION OF DROGHEDA.

Midsummer General Assembly, July 19, 1782.

The freedom of the said corporation having been unanimously voted, on the 19th day of April last, to Henry Grattan, Esq. in a gold box, for his strenuous exertions, spirit, and perseverance, in support of the rights of Ireland, manifested on all occasions, particularly by his amendment to the address of the House of Commons to his Majesty, on Tuesday the sixteenth of that month; and the same having been accordingly presented to him by William Meade Ogle, Esq. one of our representatives in parliament, Mr. Grattan was pleased to give the following answer:

Gentlemen,

The freedom which you have conferred on me, and the reasons assigned, do me the greatest honour. I am happy to belong to a body distinguished for its spirit. I shall be faithful to the principles of my admission.

I am, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Signed by Order,
WILLIAM HOLMES, Town Clerk.

ROYAL TRALEE VOLUNTEERS.

At a general Meeting of the Corps this day, November 15, 1782.

Lieutenant-Colonel MORRIS in the Chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:—

Resolved, That this corps shall hold itself in readiness, at an hour's warning, to preserve the peace and good order of this town and neighbourhood, as well as of the county at large.

Resolved, That the following Address, expressive of our unanimous sentiments, be presented to our worthy member, Colonel Henry Grattan, by Robert Day, Esq. our delegate to the National Committee in Dublin:—

Sir,

We congratulate you on your safe arrival in your native country *; a nation so much indebted to your virtue and perseverance for her present prospects of political freedom and consequence. We hope and trust that you will use the same spirited exertions, until (by an absolute renunciation on the part of Great Britain of all right of legislation for this kingdom) her liberties are established on a permanent and unequivocal foundation.

During your absence the measure of raising fencible or provincial regiments has been adopted, which we, in common with the other volunteer corps of Ireland, conceive to be intended to divide and weaken our glorious associations, and which we know, from experience in this county, has prevented the carrying that unanimous resolution of the Irish Commons, which you were the mover of, into execution, namely, that for raising twenty thousand men for the service of the empire at sea. We hope this measure will meet with that opposition in Parliament, from your great abilities, which we conceive it deserves, and which we are determined to give it by every legal means in our power.

The chairman having left the chair, and Capt. Hickson having taken it:

Resolved, That the warmest thanks of this corps be returned to our worthy chairman, Lieut.-Colonel Morris, for his great politeness, spirit, and impartiality in the chair.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I feel your affection very sensibly. I shall not forfeit it rashly.

Your interest shall ever be my object; in pursuing your interest I rely for approbation on your understanding.

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* Mr. Grattan had just returned from the Continent, where he had gone for the improvement of his health.

I have given my sentiments already on one of the questions you mention*; the prospect of a peace seems to settle the other. The attack on your judicature is a new and distinct subject †; the infraction was the act of a few; the redress I should hope will be the act of the nation; and when Great Britain speaks once more upon the Irish subject, I dare say you will see, that in her transaction with Ireland, she has been sincere and honourable.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your faithful and obliged humble Servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

INDEPENDENT DUBLIN VOLUNTEERS.

At a Meeting of the Corps, December the 1st, 1782.

Captain HENRY WHITESTONE in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the following address be presented to our Colonel, Henry Grattan, Esq.

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

Sir,

An unsuspecting and liberal confidence, natural to the people of Ireland, betrayed this corps into a belief of sincerity in the intention of Great Britain, and they accordingly expressed by a public resolve, their satisfaction at the repeal of an English declaratory law; a law enacted during an intoxication of power against a country, then depressed by the tyranny of its usurpers, and bleeding in consequence of its own unhappy intestine divisions.

But the experience of ages, and many recent alarming circumstances, have awakened fears, which must naturally extend to the breasts of all who wish unequivocal precision established in place of present uncertainty, lest the liberties of this country, heretofore wantonly trampled on, may at a future period be garbled or explained away, by corrupt or chimerical servants of the crown.

We feel the time now arrived when silence becomes criminal, after a committee, chosen from the best informed body in this nation, (the lawyers corps,) have declared our present security inadequate; with whose report, and the two following resolutions of that corps, we most perfectly agree.

" That a voluntary and express renunciation on the part of Great Britain, of all claim of right to bind Ireland, either externally or internally, would, in our opinion, give great satisfaction to this country, and render the union between the two kingdoms permanent and indissoluble.

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* On Simple Repeal. See 1st vol. of Speeches, p. 146.

† This was an old cause that remained over in the English court of King's Bench, prior to the restoration of Irish judicature in 1782.

"That an act of the Irish Parliament, ascertaining and securing the rights of this country, is, in our opinion, necessary for the establishment of its liberties."

Because their very great knowledge of the laws, and in these points their indefatigable zeal and researches, have placed the situation of public affairs in the clearest point of view.

Therefore, we earnestly wish these our opinions, in which we find ourselves supported by all virtuous Irishmen, may meet your hearty concurrence and strenuous support, to establish, on a secure and lasting foundation, the rights and liberties of this much injured country, as we are determined at the risk of every thing dear to us, to exert all constitutional means to transmit them to posterity inviolate.

HENRY WHITESTONE, Chairman.

RESOLVED, That the said address be signed by the chairman, who, with the committee that prepared the same, do present it to Colonel GRATTAN.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this corps be hereby given to said committee, for their trouble in preparing this address.

The chairman and committee having waited on Col. GRATTAN, he returned the following answer:

GENTLEMEN,

I WAS sorry that your address should have been published before it was presented, because I do not wish to appear tardy to respect your opinions, or to disclose mine.

I applauded the liberal confidence which you reposed in the sincerity of the British nation; I hope she may long continue to deserve, and you to entertain that just and necessary sentiment.

I agree with you that the 6th of George I. was passed when we were depressed by the "intoxication of power, and weakened by intestine divisions." There was at that time in the stamina of the community a radical weakness; we had taken precautions against our own strength and liberty, by the emaciating cruelty of barbarous laws, and we felt in our own bondage the natural returns of our own tyranny: fortunately we have discovered the error; it was your policy, and my decided opinion to adopt the Catholic body. *I conceived it to be a sacred truth, and written as it were in the tables of fate, "that the Irish Protestant should never be free until the Irish Catholic ceased to be a slave;"* by the charter of toleration those intestine divisions which you speak of, have ceased, and with them the domination of Great Britain has departed.

The Parliament of Ireland has asserted its legislative independency, the Parliament of Great Britain has acknowledged it, fully acknowledged it: I speak, warranted by the record of the proceedings, and by the almost unanimous declarations of both

Houses of Parliament: I speak the legal language and expressed opinion of the most eminent men of the bar*, and I might add legal personages still more high and authoritative.

In this conviction, and with this authority, you will not suppose that I shall subscribe to the resolutions, to which you have lately acceded. A member of one House of Parliament, and attached to the privileges of both, and to the Parliamentary constitution of Ireland, I do not see that emergency, which should induce, or warrant us to refer, revise, and contradict a resolution of the House of Commons, and, under colour of fortifying the Independency of our Parliament, supersede its authority.

I concur with you in every personal compliment to the seven gentlemen who framed the report you speak of, but when I differ from you, it is not surprising that I should have no scruple to differ from them.

I know of no circumstance, except one, which has recently happened to alarm you: the entertaining and deciding by the Court of King's Bench, in England, an Irish cause, is, no doubt, a very great infringement. You do not imagine that I mean to rest under it; but I shall never suppose such a measure to be the act of England, unless her Parliament shall hesitate to do it away in a manner the most clear, comprehensive, and satisfactory.

I have given you my sincere opinion, I have explicitly differed from you with a regard for the corps, and an affection for the men who compose it. The natural result of my dissent is the ceasing of my command; I do not resign, lest peremptory resignation should appear an act of unmanly offence; in the succession of officers you have an opportunity to indulge the range of your disposition. Invited to the command without solicitation, I shall render back the honour without the emotions of resentment, or the affectation of indifference.

In the warm hours of your panegyric I made every allowance for a sanguine disposition; in the present hour, when the same disposition may go in the other direction, I shall make the same allowance.

There is a final justice in public opinion on which I do not fear to stand.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,

Your faithful and humble Servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

At a further Meeting of the Corps, Dec. 6, 1782.

A complaint having been made of the publication of several papers, entitled the Report of the Committee of the Independent Dublin Volunteers, and containing the above address.

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* These recorded opinions will be found in the memoirs of Mr. Grattan's life.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the publication of the address of this corps to Colonel GRATTAN, without authority, and before the same was presented, was an high insult to the corps.

Resolved, That any member of this corps, who was aiding in the said publication, merits the severest censure, and is unworthy of being continued a member of the corps.

Resolved, That the above address, answer, and resolutions be published three times in the Dublin and General Evening Posts.

Signed by order,

CH. BERKELEY KIPPAX, Sec.

ENNIS VOLUNTEERS.

AT a full Meeting on the 27th June, 1782.

RESOLVED, That the following Address be transmitted to our colonel, and that his lordship be requested to present the same to Colonel HENRY GRATTAN.

To Colonel Henry Grattan.

SIR,

WERE we to attempt applauding your conduct in proportion as we esteem it; did we conceive any hopes of addressing you for your steady virtue, in terms adequate to the lively sense we entertain of it, we should be deterred from such an undertaking by the difficulty of the task. We are not ashamed to make this acknowledgment; the language of panegyric has been already applied to you by the united voice of this nation, and exhausted. We have only, then, thus publicly to return you our warmest and sincerest thanks, for your unremitted attention to the service of the public, and to congratulate you on the success of your exertions, and the completion of your wishes. The pleasure you must necessarily feel, from your having attracted the distinguished regards of your country, must be still heightened by your consciousness that you deserved them. You have been the principal and happy instrument in restoring her ancient freedom and constitution to Ireland; and we are confident from the innate purity of your sentiments, you will continue the watchful guardian of Ireland's rights. The liberal and unequivocal manner in which our late requisitions have been granted by the British parliament, has completely gratified our wishes, as it has in our opinion fully established our constitution. We have the most unbounded confidence in the wisdom and integrity of those ministers who at present direct his Majesty's councils, *and do consider a repeal of the 6th of George I. by the legislature of England, a complete renunciation of all the claims contained in that statute;* as we are then satisfied, we share her liberty with our sister kingdom; we are determined, by giving her our most cordial assistance in the hour of danger, to share her fate.

Signed by Order,
HUGH M'CLOSKEY,
Adjutant and Secretary.

Resolved, That our most affectionate thanks are justly due, and are hereby most sincerely given, to our lieutenant-colonel, William Blood, for his uncommon zeal in the cause we have embarked in, and for his very great liberality to this corps on many occasions.

Resolved, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to our chairman, for his polite and proper conduct in the chair.

Resolved, That the above resolutions, addresses, and answers thereto, be published in the Dublin Evening Post, and Clare Journal.

Signed by Order,
HUGH M'CLOSKEY,
Adjutant and Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

Your approbation, accompanied with great expressions of satisfaction for the restoration of your liberties, does the greatest honour to your spirit and your justice.

The manner in which you received reparation, is suitable to the dignity of both nations, and a pledge of harmony and freedom.

The part I have taken, is in common with other men, and the principles those to which I will ever adhere.

I am, Gentlemen, with great respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

At a Meeting of the Committee of Correspondence, appointed by the delegates of forty-five volunteer corps, assembled at Lisburn on the 1st of July instant, held at Belfast 19th July, 1783.

Present.

Lieut.-Colonel SHARMAN in the chair.

Major Burden,
Captain Cunningham,
Captain Prentice,
Captain Crawford,
Lieutenant Tomb,
Mr. Robt. Thompson.

Ordered, That the following letter, signed by the secretary in the name of this committee, be forwarded to the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, enclosing a copy of the resolutions of the Provincial Meeting of Volunteers of Munster, and of the proceedings of forty-five volunteer delegates assembled at Lisburn on the first instant, respecting a Parliamentary Reform; as also a copy of the circular letter, written this day by this committee to the several volunteer corps of this province.

To the Right Honourable Henry Grattan.

Sir, Belfast, 19th July, 1783.

The very glorious and effectual part you took in the emancipation of your native country, naturally leads the volunteers of the north of Ireland to look up to you for a decided support in favour of a reform, which, no doubt, meets your warmest wishes.

To a gentleman of such unrivalled ability, and of so intimate knowledge of the ruinous state of the representation of Ireland, in us to aim at conveying information were very unnecessary.

The day fixed for the Dungannon meeting being very near, viz. 8th September, and our day of meeting as a committee for arranging the information we shall receive, being the 20th August, we humbly hope you will favour us, before the latter date, with your sentiments at large on this subject; *pointing out such a specific mode of reform, and the most eligible steps leading to it,* as come up to your ideas.

We have yet another favour to request, viz. that you would inform us, whether shortening the duration of Parliaments, exclusion of pensioners, limitation of the number of placemen, and a tax on absentees, or any of those be, in your opinion, subjects on which the volunteers of Ireland ought to interfere; and we most earnestly entreat that you would favour us with a sketch of such resolutions as you would think proper to be proposed at Dungannon.

Your reply * you will be so good as to address to our chairman at Lisburn.

Signed by order,

HENRY JOY, jun., Sec. of the 45 Corps.

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* Unfortunately the answer on this important subject is not to be found; but Mr. Grattan's opinion was decidedly in favour of Reform.

IRISH REVOLUTION OF 1782.

Proceedings in the British and the Irish Parliaments, as far as regards the Repeal of the Act assuming the Supremacy of the British Parliament over Ireland.

BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

9th April, 1782.

Mr. Secretary Fox acquainted the House, that he had a message from His Majesty to this House, signed by His Majesty; and he presented the same to this House; and it was read by the Speaker, all the members of the House being uncovered, and is as follows:

"G. R.

"His Majesty being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland upon matters of great weight and importance, earnestly recommends to this House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a *final adjustment* as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

"G. R."

Resolved, *nem. con.* That an humble address be presented to His Majesty, to return His Majesty the thanks of this House for his most gracious message; and to assure His Majesty, that this House, feeling with His Majesty the deepest concern that discontents and jealousies should have arisen among His Majesty's loyal subjects in Ireland, will, without delay, take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a final adjustment as may give mutual satisfaction to both kingdoms.

Ordered, That the said address be presented to His Majesty by such Members of this House as are of His Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

16th April, 1782.

Mr. Secretary of State informed the House, that he was commanded by his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant, to deliver a message to the House, from his Grace, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, and the same was read by Mr. Speaker, and is as follows.

"Portland."

"I have it in command from his Majesty, to inform this House, that his Majesty being concerned, to find that discontents and jealousies are prevailing among his loyal subjects of this country, upon matters of great weight and importance, his Majesty recommends to this House to take the same into their most serious consideration, in order to such a *final* adjustment, as may give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland."

Ordered, That his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant's message be entered on the journals of this House.

(A similar message was delivered to the House of Lords.)

A motion was made, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious message to this House, signified by his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant that in obedience to his Majesty's most gracious recommendation, this House will, without delay, take into their most serious consideration, the dissentions and jealousies which have arisen in this kingdom; the cause whereof they will investigate with all convenient dispatch, and humbly submit to his Majesty's royal justice and wisdom."

An amendment was made to this motion, and the resolution so amended, is as follows:

RESOLVED, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious message to this House, signified by his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant.

To assure his Majesty of our unshaken attachment to his Majesty's person and government, and of our lively sense of his paternal care, in thus taking the lead to administer content to his Majesty's subjects of Ireland.

That thus encouraged by his royal interposition, we shall beg leave, with all duty and affection, to lay before his Majesty the causes of our discontents and jealousies. To assure his Majesty that his subjects of Ireland are a free people. That the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain; on which connexion, the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend: but that the kingdom of Ireland is a distinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof. That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords, and Commons of Ireland, nor any other parliament which hath any authority or power, of any sort whatsoever, in this country, save only the parliament of Ireland. To assure his Majesty that we humbly conceive, that in this right the very essence of our liberties exists, a right which we, on the part of all the people of Ireland, do claim as their birth-right, and which we cannot yield but with our lives.

To assure his Majesty, that we have seen, with concern, certain claims advanced by the parliament of Great Britain, in an Act, entitled an "Act for the better securing the dependency of Ireland," an Act containing matter entirely irreconcileable to the fundamental rights of this nation. That we conceive this Act, and the claims it advances, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in this kingdom.

To assure his Majesty, that his Majesty's Commons of Ireland, do most sincerely wish that all bills which become law in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his Majesty, under the seal of Great Britain; but that yet we do consider the practice of suppressing our bills in the council of Ireland, or altering the same any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy.

To assure his Majesty, that an Act, entitled "An Act for the better accommodation of his Majesty's forces," being unlimited in duration, and defective in other instances, but passed in that shape from the particular circumstances of the times, is another just cause of discontent and jealousy in this kingdom.

That we have submitted these, the principal causes of the present discontent and jealousy of Ireland, and remain in humble expectation of redress.

That we have the greatest reliance on his Majesty's wisdom, the most sanguine expectations from his virtuous choice of a chief governor, and great confidence in the wise, auspicious, and constitutional councils, which we see with satisfaction his Majesty has adopted.

That we have, moreover, a high sense and veneration for the British character, and do, therefore, conceive that the proceedings of this country, founded as they were in right, and tempered by duty, must have excited the approbation and esteem, instead of wounding the pride of the British nation.

And we beg leave to assure his Majesty, that we are the more confirmed in this hope, in as much as the people of this kingdom, have never expressed a desire to share the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to share her fate likewise, standing and falling with the British nation.

A similar Address was agreed to by the Lords.

22d April, 1782.

The Right Honorable, the Secretary of State, reported to the House, that his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant, had been attended with the Address of this House to his Majesty, and that, thereupon, his Grace was pleased to return the following answer.

"I shall immediately transmit this dutiful and loyal Address, to be laid before his Majesty."

Ordered to be entered in the journals.

BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

1st May, 1782.

Mr Secretary Fox presented to the House, by his Majesty's command,

Copy of the message to the Houses of Lords and Commons in Ireland, from his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant, delivered the 16th of April, 1782:—and also,

Copy of a resolution of the House of Lords in Ireland, the 17th of April, 1782:—and also,

Copy of a resolution of the House of Commons of Ireland, the 16th of April, 1782:—

And the titles of said copies, were read accordingly.

17th May, 1782.

Resolved, That this House will immediately resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration his Majesty's most gracious message, of the 9th of April last, relative to the state of Ireland.

Ordered, That the several papers which were presented to this House, by Mr. Secretary Fox, upon the first day of this instant, be referred to the said committee.

The House then went into the committee.

Mr. Powys, shortly after, reported from the committee, that they had come to several resolutions, which they had directed him to report.

Ordered, That the said report be received.

Mr. Powys accordingly reported from the committee, the resolutions which were read, and are as follow:

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an Act made in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the First, entitled "An Act for the better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain," ought to be repealed.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is indispensible to the interests and happiness of both kingdoms, that the connection between them should be established by mutual consent, upon a solid and permanent basis.

The said resolutions being read a second time, and the question severally put thereon, were agreed to by the House, *nem. con.*

Ordered, That leave be given to bring in a Bill for repealing an Act, made in the sixth year of his late Majesty King George the

First, entitled "An Act for the better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland, upon the crown of Great Britain;" and that Mr. Secretary Fox, Mr. Thomas Pitt, Mr. Powys, and Lord John Cavendish, do prepare and bring in the same.

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to his Majesty, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to take such measures, as his Majesty in his royal wisdom shall think most conducive to the establishing, by mutual consent, the connexion between this kingdom and the kingdom of Ireland, upon a solid and permanent basis.

Ordered, That the said Address be presented to his Majesty, by such members of this House, as are of his Majesty's most Honorable Privy Council.

22d May, 1782.

Mr. Secretary Fox reported to the House, that his Majesty had been attended with the Address of this House on Friday last, which his Majesty had been pleased to receive very graciously, and that his Majesty had commanded him to acquaint this House, that he will immediately take such measures as may be most likely to conduce to the establishment of a connexion, between this kingdom and the kingdom of Ireland, upon a solid and permanent basis.

IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

27th May, 1782.

The Speaker reported that the House had attended his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant, in the House of Peers, when his Grace was pleased to make a speech to both Houses of Parliament, of which he had obtained a copy, which he read, and is as follows.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It gives me the utmost satisfaction, that the first time I have occasion to address you, I find myself enabled, by the magnanimity of the King, and the wisdom of the Parliament of Great Britain, to assure you that immediate attention has been paid to your representations; and that the British legislature have concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of your discontents and jealousies, and are united in a desire to gratify every wish, expressed in your late Addresses to the throne.

If any thing could add to the pleasure I feel in giving you these assurances, it is that I can accompany them with my congratulations on the important and decisive victory, gained by the fleets of his Majesty, over those of our common enemy in the West Indies, and on the signal advantage obtained by his Majesty's arms in the island of Ceylon and on the coast of Coromandel.

By the papers, which in obedience to his Majesty's commands, I have directed to be laid before you, you will receive the most convincing testimony of the cordial reception which your representations have met with, from the legislature of Great Britain; but his Majesty, whose first and most anxious wish is to exercise his royal prerogative, in such a manner as may be most conducive to the welfare of all his faithful subjects, has further given it me in command, to assure you of his gracious disposition to give his royal assent to Acts, to prevent the suppression of bills in the privy council of this kingdom, and the alteration of them any where, and to limit the duration of the act for the better regulation and accommodation of his Majesty's forces in this kingdom, for the term of two years.

These benevolent intentions of his Majesty, and the willingness of his Parliament of Great Britain to second his gracious purposes, are unaccompanied by any stipulation or condition whatever, the good faith, the generosity, the honor of this nation, afford them the surest pledge of a corresponding disposition on your part, to promote and perpetuate the harmony, the stability and the glory of the empire.

On my own part, I entertain not the least doubt but that the same spirit, which urged you to share the freedom of Great Britain, will confirm you in your determination to share her fate also—standing and falling with the British nation.

Ordered, That his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant's speech be entered in the journals of this House.

A motion was made, and agreed to, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty.

Mr. Secretary Fitzpatrick presented to the House, by order of his Grace, the Lord Lieutenant,

Resolutions and Addresses of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal of Great Britain, relating to Ireland, 17th May, 1782:

Votes of the House of Commons of Great Britain, relating to Ireland, 17th May, 1782.

The titles whereof were read.

Ordered, That the said papers do lie on the table.

28th May, 1782.

THE Right Honourable Mr. Fitzpatrick informed the House, that his Majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious Answer to the Address of this House of the 16th of April, which is as follows:

"GEORGE R.

"HIS Majesty receives with pleasure the assurances of the House of Commons of Ireland, of their unshaken attachment to his person and family.

"It gives his Majesty the highest satisfaction to observe, that in their opinion, in which his Majesty perfectly concurs, the constitutional connexion between Great Britain and Ireland is essential to the interests and happiness of both nations, and that it is the determination of his people of Ireland to share the fate of, and to stand and fall with the British nation.

"His Majesty conceives that these principles cannot fail to contribute to the accomplishment of his earnest desire to remove all causes of discontent and jealousy; with that view his Majesty has recommended this weighty and important subject to the consideration of his Parliaments of both kingdoms, trusting that their united wisdom will suggest such measures as may terminate in a final adjustment to their mutual satisfaction.

"With the same view his Majesty intends forthwith to communicate to the Lords and Commons of Great Britain, the Addresses of the Lords and Commons of Ireland.

"G. R."

Address in Answer.

TO THE KING's MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to assure your Majesty of our unfeigned affection to your royal person and government, and that we feel most sensibly the attention which our representations have received from the magnanimity of your Majesty, and the wisdom of the parliament of Great Britain.

We assure your Majesty, that we conceive the resolution for an *unqualified, unconditional* repeal of the 6th of George I. to be a measure of consummate wisdom and justice, suitable to the dignity and eminence of both nations, exalting the character of both, and furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.

We assure your Majesty, that we are sensibly affected by your virtuous determination to accede to the wishes of your faithful people, and to exercise your royal prerogative in a manner most conducive to their welfare; and accordingly we shall immediately prepare bills to carry into execution the desires of your Majesty's people and your own most benevolent purposes.

Gratified in those particulars, we do assure your Majesty, that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, which can interrupt their harmony, and that Great Britain, as she has approved of our firmness, so may she rely on our affection.

We remember and do repeat our determination, to stand and fall with the British nation.

We perceive with pleasure, the magnanimity of your Majesty disclaims the little policy of making a bargain with your people, and feeling with pride the confidence your Majesty reposes in the good faith, generosity, and honour of the Irish nation; we answer with all humility, that your Majesty entertains a just sense of our character. Common interest, perpetual connexion, the recent conduct of Great Britain, a native affection to the British name and nation, together with the constitution which we have recovered, and the high reputation which we possess, must ever decide the wishes as well as the interest of Ireland, to perpetuate the harmony, stability, and glory of the Empire.

We assure your Majesty, that we learn with singular satisfaction the account of your brilliant successes in the East and West Indies, gratified at one and the same instant in our dearest wishes, the freedom of Ireland and glory of Great Britain.

We cannot omit expressing our gratitude to your Majesty, for appointing the Duke of Portland to the government of this kingdom. We are convinced his representations were faithful, vigorous, and beneficial.

We are acquainted with his character, and relying on his upright and frugal administration, make no doubt that a free people and an uncorrupt parliament will unite to give a constitutional chief governor decided support.

We have presumed to lay before your Majesty our genuine sentiments on the change of our situation. Your Majesty will receive them as the voluntary, unstipulated tribute of a free and grateful people.

28th, May 1782.

Address of thanks to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant.

TO HIS GRACE
WILLIAM HENRY, DUKE OF PORTLAND,
Lord Lieutenant-General, and General Governor of Ireland.

The humble Address of the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled.

May it please your Grace,

We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave to express our most unfeigned acknowledgments for your excellent speech from the throne; and we do beseech your Grace to be assured, that these are not the trite expressions of mere formal duty, but the pure effusions of genuine gratitude from a free people to a chief governor, who has announced from the throne the ratification of their freedom. Descended from a line of constitutional ancestors, inheriting their principles with their blood, the appointment of your Grace to the government of this country was an earnest given by a beneficent prince, of those gracious intentions which he has since so fully manifested to his people; and amidst the entire satisfaction which we experience from the important information which your Grace has been pleased to communicate, we cannot but rejoice that the name of Bentinck, so intimately connected with the great era of British liberty, will be handed down to the latest posterity, inseparably blended with the full and perfect establishment of the constitution of Ireland. And we have the best founded expectations, that a nobleman in whose virtues both countries have the justest confidence, will for ever cement those friendly and affectionate dispositions, which it is our earnest wish should at all times mutually continue between the two countries.

His Grace the Duke of Portland's Answer.

GENTLEMEN, 30th May, 1782.

I RETURN you my most sincere thanks for your kind and affectionate Address, and receive with singular pleasure your animated and honourable expressions of gratitude and entire satisfaction, arising from those declarations which the benign wisdom of his Majesty and the British parliament has enabled me to make from the throne. I shall think myself fortunate indeed, if the period of my administration of this country shall prove the era of reciprocal and inseparable affection between Great Britain and Ireland, an era sacred to every friend, as it is formidable to every enemy of the British empire.

29th May, 1782.

RESOLVED, That this House will, to-morrow morning, resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration what sum of money it may be proper to grant for the purpose of purchasing an estate, and building a mansion, to be settled on HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. in such manner as the committee shall think fit, in testimony of our gratitude for the unequalled services that he has done this kingdom.

30th May, 1782.

THE House, according to order, resolved itself into a committee of the whole House, to take into consideration what sum of money it may be proper to grant for the purpose of purchasing an estate, and building a mansion, to be settled on HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. in such manner as the committee shall think fit, in testimony of our gratitude for the unequalled services that he has done this kingdom; and after some time spent therein, Mr. Speaker resumed the chair, and Sir Henry Hartstonge reported from the committee, that they had come to a resolution in the matter to them referred, which he was directed to report when the House will please to receive the same.

A message from the Lords, by Mr Walker and Mr. Vesey, two of the Masters in Chancery, that the Lords have come to a resolution, concurring in substance with the resolution of this House, communicated to their Lordships by the message of yesterday, to which they desire the concurrence of this House.

And then the messengers withdrew.

RESOLVED, That the House do immediately take the said message into consideration.

Then the said resolution was read, and is as follows:

RESOLVED, by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, That an humble Address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, to request that his Grace will be pleased to represent to his Majesty, that we are so impressed with sentiments of gratitude to divine Providence, for the many blessings bestowed of late on this kingdom, and particularly for that union, harmony, and cordial affection which now happily subsist between his two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland, whose interests are inseparably the same; and for the great and signal success of his Majesty's arms in the East and West Indies; that we have the most sincere and cordial disposition to express our unfeigned thankfulness to Almighty God for these his mercies to both kingdoms; and that whenever his Majesty shall please to appoint a day of public thanksgiving in this kingdom, there will not, as we humbly conceive, be any one person throughout this nation who will not most cordially and sincerely join in the religious observation thereof.

Resolved, That this House do concur with the Lords in the said resolution, and that the blank be filled up with the words "and Commons."

Ordered, That Mr. Lowther do carry the same to the Lords, and acquaint them that this House hath agreed to the same.

31st May, 1782.

SIR Henry Hartslonge, according to order, reported from the committee of the whole House, appointed to take into consideration what sum of money it may be proper to grant for the purpose of purchasing an estate, and building a mansion, to be settled on HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. in such manner as the committee shall think fit, in testimony of our gratitude for the unequalled services that he has done this kingdom, the resolution which the committee had directed him to report to the House, which he read in his place, and after delivered in at the table, where the same was read, and is as follows:

RESOLVED, That it is the opinion of this committee, that an humble Address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, that he will be pleased to lay before his Majesty the humble desire of this House, that he will direct the sum of fifty thousand pounds to be laid out in the purchase of lands in this kingdom, to be settled on HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. and his heirs, in testimony of the gratitude of this nation for his eminent and unequalled services to this kingdom, and that this House will make good the same.

Resolved *nem. con.*, That this House do agree with the committee in the said resolution.

IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Resolved, That an humble Address be presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, that he will be pleased to lay before his Majesty the humble desire of this House, that he will direct the sum of fifty thousand pounds to be laid out in the purchase of lands in this kingdom, to be settled on HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. and his heirs, in testimony of the gratitude of this nation for his eminent and unequalled services to this kingdom, and that this House will make good the same.

Ordered, That such members of this House, as are of his Majesty's most honourable privy council, do attend his Grace the Lord Lieutenant with the said Address, and lay the same before his Grace, as the Address of this House.

1st June, 1782.

THE Right Honourable Mr. Fitzpatrick reported to the House, that their Address in favour of HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. had been presented to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, and that his Grace will transmit the same accordingly.

BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

11th June, 1782.

MR. SECRETARY Fox presented to the House, according to order, a Bill for repealing an Act, made in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the First, entitled, "An Act for the better securing the dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain."

The same was received and read a first time.

RESOLVED, That the Bill be read a second time.

Ordered, That the Bill be read a second time to-morrow morning.

12th June, 1782.

ORDERED, That the order of the day for the second reading of the Bill for repealing an Act, made in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the First, entitled, "An Act for the better securing the dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," be now read.

The said Bill was read a second time.

RESOLVED, That the said Bill be committed.

Resolved, That the said Bill be committed to a committee of the whole House.

Resolved, That this House will to-morrow morning resolve itself into a committee of the whole House upon the said Bill.

13th June, 1782.

Ordered, That the order of the day, for the House to resolve itself into a committee of the whole House, upon the Bill for repealing an Act, made in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George the First, entitled, "An Act for the better securing the dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," be now read.

And the said order being read accordingly, the House resolved itself into the said committee.

The Speaker left the chair.

Mr. Secretary Fox took the chair of the committee; he then reported from the committee.

The report was received with the amendments made to the Bill.

Ordered, That the Bill, with the amendments, be engrossed.

IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

13th June, 1782.

Mr. Secretary Fitzpatrick informed the House, that his Majesty had been pleased to return a most gracious answer to the Address of the House, of the 28th of May; — it was as follows:

"George R.

"His Majesty has received with the most sincere satisfaction, the dutiful and loyal Address of his House of Commons of Ireland. His Majesty assures his faithful Commons of his affectionate acceptance of their grateful acknowledgments, for the attention which his Majesty and the Parliament of Great Britain have shown to their representations, and which they so justly consider as furnishing a perpetual pledge of mutual amity.

"The declarations of the House of Commons, that no constitutional question between the two nations will any longer exist, that can interrupt their harmony, and that Great Britain may rely on their affections, are very pleasing to his Majesty.

"His Majesty is fully convinced, by their present professions of entire satisfaction and dutiful attachment, that his Majesty always entertained a just sense of their character; the zeal which they have shown to perpetuate the harmony, and their determination to uphold the glory of the empire, justify his Majesty for having on his part, given the most unequivocal proofs of his royal confidence in the honor and good faith of the Irish nation.

"G. R."

BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

14th June.

An engrossed Bill, for repealing an Act made in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George I., entitled "An Act for the better securing the dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," was read a third time.

Resolved, *nem. con.* That the Bill do pass; and that the title be, "An Act for repealing an Act made in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George I., entitled 'An Act for the better securing the dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain.'"

Ordered, That Mr. Secretary Fox do carry the Bill to the Lords, and desire their concurrence.

18th June.

A message from the Lords by Mr. Montague and Mr. Leeds.
Mr. Speaker—The Lords have passed a Bill, entitled "An Act to repeal an Act made in the sixth year," &c. to which the Lords desire the concurrence of this House. And then the messengers withdrew.

An engrossed Bill from the Lords was read a first time.

Resolved, That it be read a second time. It was read a second time.
Resolved, That it be read a third time to-morrow.

20th June.

Ordered, That the order of the day for the third reading of the engrossed Bill from the Lords, entitled "An Act to repeal an Act," &c. be now read. And the said order was read accordingly.
Resolved, That the Bill do pass.

21st June.

A message by Sir Francis Molyneux, gentleman usher of the black rod.
Mr. Speaker—The Lords authorized by virtue of his Majesty's commission, for directing the royal assent to an Act agreed upon by both Houses, desires the immediate attendance of this honourable House in the House of Peers to hear the Commission read.
Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, with the House, went up to the House of Peers, and being returned,—
Mr. Speaker reported, That the House, at the desire of the Lords authorized by virtue of his Majesty's commission, had been at the House of Peers, when a commission under the great seal was read, giving, declaring and certifying the royal assent to a public Bill therein mentioned; and also requiring the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, the Lord President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, and several of the Lords, to declare and certify the royal assent to the said bill. And the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain, and the Lord Ashburton, named also in said commission, did accordingly declare and certify the royal assent to the said Bill.

IRISH HOUSE OF COMMONS.

23d July.

Mr. Grattan reported from the committee appointed to draw up an Address of thanks to his Grace the Lord Lieutenant, for his just, wise, and constitutional administration, that they had prepared the following Address.

May it please your Grace,

We, his Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Ireland in parliament assembled, beg leave, at the conclusion of a session which hath not been more beneficial to this country than honourable to your Grace, to approach your Grace with the most unfeigned expressions of satisfaction.

At the close of this session we shall have seen, under your Grace's administration, the judges rendered independent of the crown, the law for the punishment of mutiny and desertion abridged in its duration, and so altered as to become a vindication of the constitution; the jurisdiction of the hereditary judges of the land restored; the vicious mode of passing laws, which was heretofore exercised in this country, reformed; and the sole and exclusive right of legislation, external as well as internal, in the Irish parliament, firmly asserted on the part of Ireland, and unequivocally acknowledged on the part of Great Britain.

We shall have seen this great national arrangement established on a basis which secures the tranquillity of Ireland, and unites the affections as well as interests of both kingdoms. When we consider how long we had been labouring for those great and important objects, and that they have been accomplished in the short period of your Grace's administration, we should be wanting in justice to your Grace if we did not acknowledge your virtue.

Your Grace will have the consummate satisfaction of reflecting that the name of *Bentinck* will remain engraven on our hearts, and that whenever your Grace shall withdraw from the administration of affairs in this country, an event we shall most sincerely lament, you will be attended (not by the forced and jaded benedictions of an oppressed province, but) by the manly and dignified love of a free people, restored to liberty by their own great exertions, rendered effectual under your auspicious government, and by your powerful assistance.

We might enlarge on your eminent integrity, your faithful representations, your constitutional lineage, and your hereditary principles; we have felt their effects, and leave it to history to do you justice.

To which his Grace returned the following Answer.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I receive this affectionate Address with the most sincere satisfaction. Attached by education and habit to the principles of the English constitution, and sensible that the benefits of it ought to be extended to this kingdom, it gives me a particular pleasure to have been in any degree instrumental in restoring it to that situation in which it has long deserved to be placed.

To settle the constitution of Ireland upon a secure foundation, and to unite its interests and affections with those of Great Britain, were the principal objects of my administration; and I am happy to learn that you consider those objects as accomplished.

Your approbation has gratified every ambition of my heart; and I should ill deserve your acknowledgments if I did not feel the value of the gratitude of a free people, and in every situation of life consider myself as bound to promote the interest and happiness of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom.

POYNINGS' LAW.*

The 10th of Henry VII. chap. 4.—*Irish.*

An Act that no parliament be holden in this land, until the Acts be certified into England.

Item, at the request of the Commons of the land of Ireland, be it ordained, enacted and established, That at the next Parliament that there shall be holden by the King's commandent and licence, wherein amongst other, the King's Grace intendeth to have a general resumption of his whole revenues sith the last day of the reign of King Edward the Second, no Parliament be holden hereafter in the said land, but at such season as the King's Lieutenant and counsail there first do certifie the King under the great seal of that land the causes and considerations and all such Acts as them seemeth should pass in the same Parliament, and such causes, considerations and Acts affirmed by the King and his counsail to be good and expedient for that land, and his licence thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and Acts, as to summon the said Parliament under his great seal of England had and obtained; that done, a Parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect before rehearsed: and if any Parliament be holden in that land hereafter, contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law.

This Act was further explained by the 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, chap. 4.

Anno Sexto Geo. I. chap 5.—*British.*

An Act for the better securing the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain.

I. Whereas the House of Lords of Ireland have of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction, to examine, correct and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of justice in the kingdom of Ireland; therefore for the better securing of the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, may it please your Most Excellent Majesty, that it may be declared, and be it declared by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right ought to be subordinate unto, and dependent upon the imperial crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes, of sufficient force and validity, to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland.

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* This law was abrogated by 22 & 23 Geo. III. c. 47. regulating the mode of passing bills and summoning Parliaments in Ireland.

II. And be it further declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords upon any such judgment, sentence or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever.

22 Geo. III. chap. 53.—*British.*

An Act to repeal an Act made in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George I. entitled "An Act for the better securing the dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain."

Whereas an Act was passed in the sixth year of the reign of his late Majesty King George I. entitled "An Act for the better securing the dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain," may it please your Most Excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted, and be it enacted by the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after passing of this Act, the above mentioned Act, and the several matters and things therein contained, shall be, and is, and are hereby repealed.

COMMERCIAL PROPOSITIONS.

At a Meeting of several of the Independent Electors of the county of Leitrim, held at Castle Carrigan, on Tuesday the 22d of June, 1785, the following Address was unanimously agreed to, and that Geo. Nugent Reynolds, Esq. do transmit the same.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

The dignified perseverance with which you have vindicated the rights of your country, the splendour of those abilities, which, assisted by the voice of nature, have heretofore imposed silence on corruption, and overturned all opposition to a legal declaration of the constitutional rights of this kingdom, render language inadequate to the expression of our feelings. Blessed with those extraordinary abilities which irresistably arrest our confidence and the admiration of mankind, we look up to you, Sir, in time of danger, as one sent by Providence to rouse and cherish the spirit of the Irish nation, and to defend those bulwarks which have been so gloriously erected by your own hands. The attack is now made upon those new raised works, but you have nobly taken the field, and planted your infallible battery against the odious English propositions, which were calculated to defraud us of the fruits of the victory which you had so honourably obtained for us. You had all the men of Ireland then at your back; there you will find them on the present occasion. You were then right, you are so now; much is expected from you, but not more than you are able to perform; the object is proportionable to your mental qualities, and you will not the less exert them.

G. N. REYNOLDS.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I WAS favoured with your Address of the 22d of last June, on the subject of the twenty propositions, now depending in the Lords' House of the British Parliament, and purporting to settle the trade of Ireland. I have declared my sentiments upon them. The privileges and rights of Ireland I have constantly defended, and hope they may be transmitted to our latest posterity. I am happy to possess your favourable opinion, and am proud of having deserved it.

I am, Gentlemen,
With the greatest respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Tennehinch, 2d July, 1785.

Dublin, 19th August, 1789.

RESOLUTIONS AND DECLARATIONS OF THE WHIG CLUB.*

WHEREAS under the circumstances of our renovated constitution, we deem it necessary that a constant and unremitting watch should be kept, against every step of encroachment upon those rights which have been lately re-established, and for the safety of which we cannot but apprehend more danger from an administration which has already insidiously attempted to infringe them, than we should from a ministry formed by those men under whose power, and with whose concurrence they were originally restored to us, and whose principles we must approve, because they are our own.

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* In consequence of the proceedings resorted to by government, at and after the period of the regency, the Opposition deemed it advisable to form a select body on constitutional principles; and hence originated the Irish Whig Club.

And whereas, at the present critical juncture, (when, besides many other alarming symptoms, we clearly perceive a settled and premeditated plan to sap the liberty of Ireland, by overwhelming her with expences and consequent debt, in order to the increase of unconstitutional influence in her parliament,) it is expedient to adopt every measure which may contribute to bring and to keep together men of genuine whig principles, and consequently ardent lovers of their country and of its liberties, we think it may be useful to institute a society of congenial characters, under the appellation of the Whig Club, so styled from the principles and motives of its constituents.

And that every candidate for this club may be fully apprized of the motives and intentions of those with whom he wishes to associate, we have framed the following body of resolutions and declarations, to be perused and subscribed by all such candidates previously to their admission.

Resolved, That the great object of this society is the constitution of the realm, as settled by the revolution in Great Britain and Ireland in 1688, and re-established in Ireland in 1782.

That we will support and maintain as a principle object and fundamental part of that constitution, the

SACRED RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE.

And above all, that great indispensible right of the subjects of this realm, to be free from, and independent on, the authority of any Parliament or legislature whatsoever, save only the Parliament of Ireland; that is to say, the King of Ireland, and the Lords and Commons of this realm.

We, therefore, protest against and abjure, as illegal and criminal, a doctrine*, which, on a late occasion has been advanced, "That the Parliament of another country had, in the appointment of a Regent over this realm, a legislative authority."

We declare, that the Parliament of Ireland, that is to say, the King of Ireland and the Lords and Commons thereof, are the only legislature of this realm.

And we further declare, that as far as in us lies, we will endeavour to preserve to this country, in all times to come, a Parliament of her own, residing within this realm, and exclusively invested with all parliamentary privileges and powers.

That we will for ever support and maintain the constitutional rights and dignity of the imperial crown of Ireland; and we do abjure, as illegal and criminal, a doctrine lately advanced, That His Majesty legislates in Ireland as King of Great Britain, in as much as said doctrine is not founded in our laws, militates against our constitution, affects to depose the King of Ireland, and tends to dissolve the principles of our allegiance and our liberty.

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* See the speech of Mr. Fitzgibbon, (afterwards Lord Clare,) then Attorney General. Irish Parliamentary Debates, vol. ix.

That the best and surest method of preserving the constitutional rights of the crown is to preserve and transmit the same in succession in the House of Brunswick.

That we shall ever adhere to the principles which directed the Lords and Commons of Ireland, when, on a late melancholy occasion, they addressed His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to take on himself, during his Royal Father's indisposition, the administration of affairs, free from occasional and unconstitutional restrictions, such restrictions being more calculated to answer the views of ambition, than to preserve liberty, or to promote the solid interests of the empire.

That we shall ever maintain and vindicate the principle and justice which actuated our Parliament, when, on behalf of the people of this realm, they did impose a public and merited censure on his Excellency the Marquis of Buckingham, for his ill-advised, unwarranted, and unconstitutional conduct.

That we will ever maintain, as sacred and indissoluble, our connection with Great Britain, being, in our opinion, indispensibly necessary for the freedom of this kingdom in particular, and for the freedom, strength, and prosperity of the empire in general.

We have set forth the great principles and objects of the Whig Club; and we have formed this society because we apprehend some of those objects are in danger.

The rights of the people of Ireland have been publicly and ministerially questioned by the present chief governor. A right in the Parliament of another country to make laws for this kingdom, in the case of a Regency, has been, by the ministers of the crown in Ireland, advanced and defended. The competency of the two Houses of the Irish Parliament on a late occasion has been denied. The legislative capacity of the King of Ireland has been denied, and the great seal of another country held up as a substitute for the imperial crown of this realm. The undue influence of the crown over both Houses of Parliament has been of late, beyond all example, increased.

A pension bill has been rejected by the influence of the present ministers of Ireland. A place bill has been rejected by the same influence. A bill for the better securing the freedom of election by disqualifying revenue officers from voting for members to serve in Parliament, has been rejected by the same influence. The present extravagant, ineffectual, and unconstitutional police of the city of Dublin has been continued and patronized by the same influence. All proceedings in Parliament to remove the grievance, or censure the abuse, has been resisted and defeated by the same influence. The expediency of combating by corruption a constitutional majority in Parliament has been publicly avowed, and the principle so avowed has been in part carried into execution.

Honours, as we apprehend, have been sold*, and the money deposited for the purpose of purchasing seats in the Commons for the dependants of administration, in order to procure for the minister a majority in Parliament; for the same corrupt purpose, useless offices have been created or revived. Boards, for the same unconstitutional and venal purpose, have been divided. Sinecure offices split to multiply the number of commissioners, for no other purpose than to increase the influence of the minister and gratify the individual.

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* See Irish Parliamentary Debates, vol. x. and xi.; also Mr. Grattan's Speeches, vol. ii. page 279.

For the same venal purpose, and with as little colour or pretence, salaries have been augmented to increase the parliamentary influence of the minister, at the expence of the nation.

A plan of intimidation has aided and abetted the views of corruption; and members of Parliament have, by the minister, been expressly threatened with being made "the victims of their votes," or have been displaced for no reason or pretence whatever, except their constitutional conduct in Parliament.

That we apprehend those proceedings and principles avow a design to govern this country unconstitutionally, and must, if successful, render the minister absolute in the Parliament of Ireland by corruption.

That this danger is the more to be apprehended, because there is no fixed or adequate responsibility in the situations of the persons who direct the affairs of this country; and the minister of Ireland, however culpable, is but too likely to elude public justice.

That to redress, as far as in us lies, these grievances, we have formed this society, and,—

Resolved, That in whatever situation we shall stand, we will exert our endeavours, by all legal and constitutional means, to annul and do away all the expences and charges above alluded to; and, in order to secure this country against the repetition of such grievances, we further resolve to struggle by the same means for the attainment of those objects, which, at the close of the last session were proposed by the minority in Parliament, and resisted by the minister.

And whereas, in the year 1785, on the credit of a commercial adjustment, which, for reasons never to be forgotten, did not take place, new taxes, to the amount £140,000 *per ann.*, were granted under an engagement that the economy of the minister should co-operate with the bounty of Parliament, to prevent the excess of expence above income; we, therefore, think it the more incumbent on us, as far as in us lies, to resist the present extravagance of government, being a direct breach of the faith of ministers pledged on that occasion, as well as the certain means of increasing the taxes and the debt of the nation, to supply expences incurred with a design to diminish her integrity and undermine her freedom.

Resolved, That no person elected into this club shall be considered as a member thereof, till he has subscribed to the above resolutions and declarations.

Resolved, That these resolutions be printed for the use of the members.

Signed by order,
THOMAS CONOLLY, Sec.

Monday, 2d August, 1790.

At a Meeting of the Whig Club, this day, the Club resolved itself into a Committee to prepare their vindication.*

The Committee.

Duke of Leinster,
Earl of Moira,
Earl of Charlemont,
Earl of Arran,
Mr. Ponsonby,
Mr. Grattan,
Mr. Curran,
Sir Edward Newenham,
Mr. Egan,
Mr. Hamilton Rowan.

The Duke of Leinster reported the resolution of the committee, which was accordingly read and unanimously agreed to, and is as follows :

That we have seen a publication containing various and extraordinary charges against the members of this society, comparing them to those of " Porter-Clubs, and such like low and riotous meetings;" and further alleging " that they are persons of the grossest ignorance; that they have shown that ignorance particularly in their late resolution on behalf of the rights of the subject, and that they have discovered, on this occasion, as great a perversion of sense as ever distracted the human brain."

That we should have passed by such a publication as one of those flippant productions, with which the present ministers of the crown, by their writers, vilify the people, if said empty paper did not affect to call itself the speech of the Chancellor. That we could wish the composition had confined itself to us, and had not spread its foul contents among the Common Council of Dublin, and the citizens in general, on behalf of their privileges legally assembled. We are sorry to have given any one an occasion to aggravate *their* present situation, and to overwhelm with a torrent of abuse, men already struggling under great wrong.

We cannot avoid expressing our disapprobation of such a malapert way of addressing the people, a disregard for whom, under any government, is unwise, under a free government, graceless, and in a minister, disqualification to hold the reins of power. We have not forgotten the gross language once before offered to the people—it was when they defended their country against the famous propositions. We flattered ourselves that we should never again be witness to the like froward discourse. The citizens, however, will bear with patience an evil, it seems they only share in common with the rest of their fellow subjects. As for ourselves, observations falling from no superior height of public virtue, make no impression.

The author of the publication asserts, that the act of council, to which our resolution of the former meeting refers, was strictly legal; but it is not in a free country that the assertion of any one man can decide. Had assertion been sufficient, there was not wanting prompt and flippant assertion against all your exertions. You had the assertion of great law officers against your declaration of right—you had their assertion in favour of the famous propositions—and you had their assertion that the King legislated in Ireland, as King of Great Britain, and *that the British Parliament could make, for certain purposes, a statute Regent for* Ireland, *and that a Regent so made, could supersede the one appointed* by your own Parliament. This nation paid but little regard to such assertions; and whatever she has acquired in constitution and consideration, is due to her wisdom in holding such assertions, and the assertors thereof, as men fallible and suspicious.

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* In consequence of a gross attack made on their society, in a speech of the Chancellor, (Lord Clare.)

The author of the paper is made to declare, that the rejection of Alderman Howison, and the approving Alderman James, was a necessary act of public duty. Here we are concerned to be obliged directly to contradict the author. It was not a necessary act of public duty; it was not necessary, however proper at that particular time, to approve of either, for the parties might have been sent back to a new election; but if approbation of either was unavoidable, it was not necessary to give the preference in favour of Alderman James, who could not serve, and to reject Alderman Howison, who was legally elected.

To prove the truth of this part of the speech, three things are indispensible, none of which are fact. 1st, That the parties could not have been sent back to a new election. 2d, That the council could not by law approve of Alderman Howison. 3d, That they could not by law refuse Alderman James.

On the first great part of the defence, we must then observe, that it is not founded in fact; that it advances the plea of necessity, which notoriously did not exist; and that the resorting to such a plea, bespeaks in the author a secret conviction, that such a proceeding can be excused by nothing else but the plea of necessity. From a misrepresentation of fact, in the outset of the defence, the author of the speech proceeds to promise, that he will prove his point to the conviction of mankind—the most unlettered man. But first, he stops to reflect on the peers; and the author of the speech condemns two noble lords for expressing their sentiments on a point of right, which may afterwards come before them as judges. Their lordships, however, if they wished to shelter themselves under authority, have it, and on this very point, in the person of the Lord Chancellor, who did declare in the presence of the parties and the public, his law opinion very early on this very question, of which opinion the public were, by himself and his friends, fully possessed; and the public is much deceived, if his early and erroneous opinion on this subject has not been the principal cause of the disgrace of the government and the ferment of the city. The noble lords will not, however, shelter themselves under his authority; they conceive, that however improper to declare an early opinion in case of private property, yet, where privileges are violated, where corporate rights are attacked, it is not unbecoming the peers of the realm to take an early part, and to consider themselves not merely as hereditary judges, but (what they value more infinitely) as hereditary freemen, bound by interest, bound by affection, and now by the offences of His Majesty's ministers and their contumely, bound more than ever to make common cause with their countrymen; they should have thought they betrayed the liberties of their country, if they had waited for three years, the term idly prescribed to the citizens to amuse themselves in the courts of justice, and we say for ourselves, without presuming to dictate to others, that whenever the ministers of the crown shall, as in the present case, attack the rights of the people, we shall always be forthcoming; uniting with our fellow subjects in common defence and common danger.

The author of the speech proceeds to give the public, on the present question, historic information; and he informs us, that the right of electing the Lord Mayor was vested, by bye laws, in the board of aldermen solely. We know it, and we further know, and from this admission are instructed to collect, that the Commons were, by force of those bye laws, ousted of that share in the election of the Lord Mayor, which they had before under charters; and it is an addition to the case of the Commons, that they now desire nothing but what they have already, by express Act of Parliament, and until ousted, as is now confessed, by force of bye laws, had originally by charter.

The author of the speech informs us, that it was by the new rules the Lord Lieutenant and council got the right of approbation, but he adds, that they got no judicial power; however, we cannot forget on a late occasion, that they displayed some things much resembling the exercise of a judicial power, when the Chancellor limited the lawyers to speak to the abstract point of law, and when the books of the corporation were sent for and examined, and the corporators interrogated, touching their tests and engagements; however, it is not for us to reconcile this parade of judicial authority, with the opinion of the author of the speech denying the council any judicial power; it is sufficient to say, that the observation has nothing to do with the question. The question not being whether the Lord Lieutenant and council have given an erroneous judgment, but whether they have not committed an arbitrary and illegal act.

The author of the speech now approaches the point, and states, that the council has not only no judicial power, but no power to judge of the legality of the election. Here again we find it impossible to reconcile the opinion of the author with the proceedings of the council; for the council, and the Chancellor in particular, as a member of that council, did examine publicly, and in the presence of the parties, into the merits of the election, and the conduct of the ballot, and limited the lawyers to the abstract point of law, and interrogated the common councilmen, and explored the books and minutes of the corporations and common council, and inquired into the tests taken by the different corporations, or said to be taken, against electing of police magistrates; all which was, as we conceive, inquiring into facts, and an insistance on matter which could relate to nothing but the legality of the election, of which the author now asserts the council had no authority to judge.

The author of the speech proceeds, and explains what power the council have, and states it to be a power to approve of the man who has, *prima facie*, the best title. Now the only title any man can have is legal election, and the only way of judging who has, *prima facie*, the best title, is to exercise some degree of judgment on the legality of his election; unless the author of the speech would say that the Lord Lieutenant and council had decided that Alderman James had the best *prima facie* title, without exercising in fact any judgment whatever on the subject. Thus does the author stand in flat contradiction to himself, and thus does he impeach all those proceedings which he affects to defend. We might well agree with the author, that the council have only a power to return who, *prima facie*, has the best title; we might add, they are obliged so to do; and we complain that they rejected that alderman, who, *prima facie*, was elected, and approved of that alderman, who, *prima facie*, was rejected, and decided not only against the right, but the colourable title, in favour of the man who had neither.

We have not forgotten, that the Chancellor declared to the lawyers, '*tis true, on a superficial reading of the Act of Parliament, the words will bear out the construction of the Commons.*

The author proceeds, and explains still further the powers of the council, and says that the council is confined to a single object, and professing to exemplify a single object he states two. The first he states is disaffection, the other personal disability. Personal disability is legal incapacity; disaffection, a wicked perversion of mind; good cause for a complete exclusion from office, but which can work no legal incapacity, until brought into action. Thus the author either confounds legal disability with disaffection, or he asserts, that the Lord Lieutenant and council have a power to inquire into the question of legal disability, which relates merely to those merits, and that right, that the same author has just alleged belong exclusively to another judicature—the courts of law.

The author has stated, that the council derive their power under the new rules, and the new rules are conceived in the words of the 33d of Geo. II. under which the common council derives its power. The author states disaffection to be the single object for the inquiry of the privy council; it remained for him to prove disaffection to be merely a law question of corporate incapacity, or to allow that the common council was not confined to that law question, by the act of Parliament, and so give up the opinion advanced by the Chancellor. The author seems aware of the difficulty, and he therefore enumerates two distinct object, disaffection and legal incapacity as one and the same, committing a solecism in terms, to secure a studied confusion in sense.

The speech informs us, that in a double return, to approve of one has always been a matter of course. Here we are again sorry to be obliged directly to contradict the author of the speech; it has not been a matter of course; it has been common to approve of neither; it has been common to send back the parties to a new election; it was the case in 63; it was the case twice this very year. But even though the author of the speech should not have been wrong, as he is, in point of fact, yet he would remain wrong in point of argument. To make out his defence, it is not sufficient to prove it a matter of course to approve of one of the parties, he must show it to be a matter of indifference which, whether the man who is legally elected, or the man who is by law disqualified; or rather, indeed, he must go further for a precedent, and show it to be a matter of course to approve of the latter; that is, the man disqualified by law.

The author of the speech informs us, that the council cannot decide the point of law; we acknowledge it, but we did not want the interposition of the author to give that information. But though the author informs us there is redress at law, yet the person whose name he assumes has also informed us, that " such redress would be a grievance, and that the city, after amusing itself for three years in the courts of justice, would be heartily sick of the experiment." Our respect for decency prevents us from going so far as to cast a damp and despondency on appealing to the law of the land, yet we do agree, that the forcing the city to that appeal was a very great injury, because the redress might be very tedious; the interim might be very disturbed, and the period of the mayoralty expire before the point could be settled.

There is a further objection; could we suppose the Courts of law capable of a criminal decision, we have a ministry disposed to give them protection.

The author of the speech would teach us to believe, that the chief governor and council decided in favour of Alderman James merely to put the question in course of trial; we are to understand, then, that there was no partiality in the administration; that the Castle, or the rash advisers of the Castle, have espoused no faction in the city. When once the author of the speech can prove this, he will then, and not till then, have supported his credit for the veracity of this suggestion.

The author of the speech, proceeds and says, that it remained for the sagacity of the *Irish* whigs, to turn a mere right of approbation into a judicial power; but we must observe, that it remained for the ingenuity and temper of the author, to discover wherein the whigs have made that confusion; for certainly in the resolution alluded to, they have not. We insert the resolution that the public may judge.

" That the whig club cannot possibly have witnessed what has lately passed, respecting the election of a Lord Mayor, without expressing the deepest concern, and declaring that they will, both individually, and as a body, co-operate with their fellow-citizens, in every legal and constitutional measure, which may tend to vindicate the laws, and to support the rights of this metropolis."

We must observe, that the principal charge of ignorance was founded, as appears in the speech, on this, our supposed confusion, of the right of approbation with a judicial power—here is the resolution, wherein appears not one syllable to justify the comment, and hence the public will collect two things. First, the great and manifest presumption of the author, in making, in so gross a manner, so unfounded a charge. Secondly, his great and unparalleled folly and temerity, in making that charge, when by the mere republication of the resolution, he could be so fully, so publicly, and so shamefully convicted.

In order to account for his observation, we must suppose the author of the publication to conceive that the charge of violating the laws, implies of itself the exercising a judicial power, but the crime of dispensing with the laws has not been confined to great lawyers exercising judicial power—the author of the speech might have read how James the Second had dispensed with the test act, without resorting to the exercise of judicial power, but by mere executive act; he had, 'tis true, the assistance of a great judicial character, his famous chancellor, a great lawyer, and a melancholy proof, that the most dangerous instrument in the hand of oppression, is an arbitrary man, hurried away by a criminal disregard for his fellow-citizens, and armed with the little points of his profession, to pervert the science of the law, and to assail the liberties of the people.

We have observed upon, and examined the principal part of this poor and positive production—that affects to call itself the speech of the chancellor.—The public will judge whether it contains that extent of genius—solidity of argument, and profundity of sense, to justify a modest man in pronouncing that he would completely, and to the most unlettered person, convince the whole community.

We must observe, that, in one point, the author of the speech has shown diffidence; it is the only point in which confidence had been a proof of firmness, or an evidence of innocence, viz. the point in question, whether by the act of Parliament the common council is obliged to assign corporate incapacity as ground of rejection. On the affirmative of this depends the innocence of the order of council; and here the author has hung back.—He allows he has examined this point as much as any that ever came before him; he had three months to investigate it.—The government has taken a decided part—the city has been put in a ferment—the administration overwhelmed in disgrace—and now, it seems, the author will not venture to speak to the question, and only diffidently tells us, that it did appear to him that Alderman James had the *best colour of election*—that from what he *has heard hitherto*, James has the best *claim*, without venturing to assign a single reason for such an opinion, or advancing one syllable in support of that novel construction, which he must feel has involved us in such a train of consequences. We leave it to the public to decide, whether this reserve in the author proceeds from moderation or defect.

We do not think it necessary, now, to go at large into the argument; but as, from the speech under our consideration, no trace whatever of the merits of the question appears, we think it proper to state from the act of the 33d of Geo. II. the following obvious inferences, that by the act no man can be mayor of the city, who is rejected by the commons; that the right of rejection in the commons, is co-extensive with the right of election in the board, both being limited by one and the same proviso, which only requires that the board shall elect, and the commons approve of some one of the board—and subject to that proviso, leaves both equally free; that there is not in the whole act, one single syllable requiring the commons to assign corporate incapacities, the ground of rejection; that the ballot clause makes such an assignment of reasons impracticable, and illegal; that such assignment is a new requisite, created by construction, to impose a forfeiture of the benefit of the act, contrary to the principle of criminal jurisprudence; that the proceedings of the privy council, under the new rules, which are conceived in nearly the same terms as the act of Parliament, without the strong circumstance of the ballot, are a precedent against this doctrine, for the council does not assign corporate incapacities as a ground of rejection.

That the spirit and meaning of the act is against it, which must be defeated by such construction, inasmuch as such a construction would take from the commons the right of rejecting; for if they could reject no man but one who laboured under corporate incapacities, they could reject no man that was not before ineligible, and who could not be mayor, though the commons approved; and all the other aldermen, elected by the board, must be mayors, though the commons rejected them. There is every reason to believe, that there is scarcely to be found, at present, one alderman that labours under a corporate incapacity; of course, under this construction, there is not one alderman whom the commons could refuse. This construction, therefore, for so much, makes the act of parliament a delusion.

We, therefore, with all due deference to legal authority, when it shall keep itself within the bounds of law and decorum, have republished our resolutions, and beg leave to add, that the act of the council, to which we do acknowledge the Lord Chancellor, and we are sorry to see it, has put his hand, is an arbitrary act—imposing on the city, as far as it can have effect, an illegal magistrate; and depriving the common council of Dublin, of a right they derive under act of Parliament.

The author of the speech puts a question, who most invade the laws, the Lord Lieutenant and Council, or they who appeal to the whig club?—Since we are called upon, we answer, the Lord Lieutenant and Council. The Lord Lieutenant and Council, says the author of the speech, who send the matter to a legal decision?—They do so, we allow it. They oblige the party, by an arbitrary act, to seek redress at law, as any man who commits a violence on another, may be said to send the matter to a legal decision.—But we never heard it pleaded as a proof of the defendant's regard for the law, that he had, by an assault on the plaintiff, sent the matter to a legal decision. This puerile interrogatory is calculated to move our scorn.

We confess, we have not forced the citizens to such a tribunal, for we have not injured them; but so far from dissuading from seeking legal redress, we are ready to assist the city in demanding it.

We associated to preserve the laws and constitution, against the attacks of the present administration, who invaded both, and who were pronounced to have done so by Parliament. We associated when the privileges of both houses had been questioned. When the minister was exhorted, by his unconstitutional adviser, to insult the legislature. When the two houses pronounced that minister and his advisers to be arbitrary and unconstitutional men. When a number of new places, pensions, and salaries were created, for the purpose of corrupting parliament. When peerages were sold, for procuring money, to be expended in the purchase of seats for the dependants of the Castle, in the assembly of the people. When the liberty of the press, and the personal liberty of the subject, by holding him to arbitrary and excessive bail, were attacked; when we had a minister ready to screen such attack from parliamentary enquiry; when a place bill, a pension bill, and every other constitutional bill made necessary, by the corruption of the present ministers, were rejected by their influence.—When these things took place, we assembled—we assembled when the nation was told, (by *authority*) that in order to defeat the opposition of the aristocracy in Parliament, the minister had, in the government of the Marquis of Townsend, expended half a million; and that in order to defeat the present aristocracy, must expend another half million*; which was to inform us, that the nation had been, by his Majesty's minister, bought and sold, and must be bought and sold again.

We appeal to the people of England, whether, if they were informed by a great officer of state, that their country had been bought and sold for half a million, and must be so again, to carry the minister triumphantly through Parliament, whether they would not, like us, have associated in common defence; and if the people of this country, being once possessed of this alarming and dreadful secret, have gone no further than bearing their humble testimony against ministers, it is because the people are not as rash as those ministers, either in their conduct or declaration.

That we have been charged by the author of the speech with the crime of looking to power, we make no assertion. Instead of assertion, we set forth the following measures, to which we are all pledged.

A place bill—a pension bill—a bill to repeal or modify the city police bill—a bill to restrain the minister from arbitrarily extending the county police—a responsibility bill—a bill to disqualify the dependent officers of the revenue from voting for members of Parliament. We are pledged to disallow the corrupt charges of the Marquis of Buckingham and his successor. We are pledged against the sale of peerages, and for the liberty of the press, and the personal liberty of the subject, against arbitrary and illegal bail. We are pledged to the principles, whereon the late Parliament addressed his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, to take on himself the regency; and against the assertions and principles that advised and maintained, in the appointment of a regent, the authority of the Parliament of another country, and would have denied to the Irish crown its legislative power, and, of course, its imperial dignity. We are pledged against an union. We are pledged against the memorable propositions and we are now pledged to oppose the misconstruction or the alteration of the act of the 33d Geo. II., whereby the commons of this city have a peremptory right of rejection; which peremptory right we will support. If any thing is here omitted, it will be found in our original declaration, and we have already appointed a committee to procure copies of the bills already mentioned, that the country may, if she pleases, adopt them, or, at least, may know how far, and how specifically we are embarked in her interest. *We have no personal animosity. But should any of the ministers of the crown attempt to trample on the people, we are ready to defend them.*—We conclude—

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* Declaration of Lord Clare, when Attorney-General. Vide Irish Parliamentary Debates, vol. ii. p. 157.—Mr. Grattan's Speeches, vol. ii. p. 248. 286.

Resolved, That the affectionate and respectful thanks of this body, be returned to the Earl of Moira and the Earl of Charlemont, for their spirited and dignified avowal of the part which they have taken in our deliberation and resolution, and for the truly patriotic regard which their Lordships have shown for the invaded privileges of their fellow-citizens, and for their zealous support of the law of the land.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed to sit during the vacation, to correspond with the members of this and other societies, and to prepare such measures, as may be rendered necessary to defend our principles and our character—with a power to assemble this club, on any emergency, to submit said measures to them, for their consideration, on giving due notice.

The Committee.

Duke of Leinster,
Earl of Moira,
Earl of Charlemont,
Earl of Arran,
Rt. Hon. W. B. Ponsonby, M. P.
Rt. Hon. H. Grattan, M. P.
Sir Ed. Newenham, Knt. M. P.
J. P. Curran, Esq. M. P.
Arthur Brown, Esq. M. P.
John Egan, Esq. M. P.
John Edwards, Esq.
Travers Hartley, Esq.
Coghill Cramer, Esq.
George Maquay, Esq.
Hamilton Rowan, Esq.
Rev. Richard Stack.

Signed,
HENRY GRATTAN, Pro. Sec.*

WEAVERS' HALL.

2d February, 1790.

By the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Weavers.

Resolved unanimously, That having taken into consideration an Address, in the public papers, to the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen, and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, signed Nath. Warren; we conceive the same to be an insult to the free electors of this city, the said Nath. Warren having uniformly opposed our faithful representative, Travers Hartley, Esq. in support of our rights, and accepted a place in an odious and oppressive police; and instead of dutifully and faithfully representing this city in Parliament, hath on all occasions acted contrary to the interest and instructions of his constituents; therefore, is, in our opinion, unworthy the support of the independent electors.

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* This and the preceding paper were drawn up by Mr. Grattan.

Resolved unanimously, That this Guild do entirely approve of the conduct of the committees, appointed by twenty-three of the corporations of this city, in unanimously recommending to the free electors of this metropolis, to call upon the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN and Lord HENRY FITZGERALD, to stand as candidates, to represent them in Parliament, on the ensuing general election.

Resolved unanimously, That we will support the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN and Lord HENRY FITZGERALD, on the next election for representatives for this city in Parliament, without any expence to them on our account.

Signed by order,
RICHARD ATKINSON, Clk. Gld.

THOLSEL.

CITY OF DUBLIN.

Post Assembly, 19th February, 1790, by the Sheriffs and Commons.

RESOLVED, That we perfectly concur in opinion with our fellow-citizens at large, in their nomination of the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN and Lord HENRY FITZGERALD, as fit and proper persons to represent this city in Parliament, on the next general election; and that we will support them with our votes and interest on that occasion—free of any expence on our account.

Agreeable to motion, the above was sent to the Lord Mayor and Board of Aldermen, for concurrence thereto.—No answer returned.

Resolved, That at a period when the sense of the electors have been so fully taken; first, by the unanimous voice of delegates from twenty-three corporations—then by a most numerous and respectable meeting of the freemen and freeholders—and since that, by the public declaration of twenty corporations, convened for the express purpose of nominating two proper persons to represent this city in Parliament, on the next general election—composing in the whole, a body of near 2,500 electors, who have agreed, with only seven negatives, to call upon and support the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN and Lord HENRY FITZGERALD, we cannot but consider the attempt of thirteen Aldermen, composed of police, paving, and lottery commissioners, to put up two of themselves, in opposition to the united voice of the people, as calculated to sow dissensions, disturb the peace, and promote discord and disunion among the citizens of Dublin.

Resolved, That as far as our influence extends, it is a duty peculiarly incumbent on us, to maintain the invaluable privileges of the free suffrage of electors, at the next general election.

Resolved, therefore, That any threats, or undue influence, employed on any of the city officers or pensioners, in order to bias or procure their votes on that occasion, will be considered by this house as a gross violation of the freedom of election; and that we will, by the most effectual means in our power, prevent the operation of such influence, for the protection of the liberty of opinion.

Resolved, That the sheriffs and such members of this house as choose to attend, do wait on Mr. GRATTAN and Lord HENRY FITZGERALD, with the first resolution entered into this day.

The Lord Mayor and Board of Aldermen having sent a message, requiring the Sheriffs and Commons to concur with them in the nomination of his Lordship and Alderman Sankey, as fit and proper persons to represent this city in Parliament.—Question put thereon, and negatived.

Resolved, That the resolutions, &c. now entered into by this house, with Mr. GRATTAN'S and Lord HENRY FITZGERALD'S answer, be published in the public papers.

Signed by order,
JOHN PURCEL, Clk. Commons.

Lord HENRY FITZGERALD and Mr. GRATTAN, being accordingly waited on, returned the following answer.

GENTLEMEN,

PLEASE to accept our thanks for the spirited and independent manner, in which you have been kind enough to direct your attention to us. Should we be fortunate enough to be chosen for the city of Dublin, we can never forget the obligations we owe to our fellow-citizens.

We have the honor to be, Gentlemen,
Your most obedient, humble Servants,
HENRY FITZGERALD,
HENRY GRATTAN.

February 24th, 1790.

THE following is a state of the corporate opinions, on fit and proper persons to represent the city of Dublin in Parliament.

An Aggregate Meeting declared for Mr. GRATTAN and Lord HENRY FITZGERALD, (being very numerous and respectable) with only one dissenting voice, 29th January, 1790.

The Aldermen of Skinner's Alley, (present 147) unanimously declared in favor of Mr. GRATTAN and Lord HENRY FITZGERALD, on the 4th instant.

The Votes of the different Corporations were as follow:

Merchants	Mr. Grattan Ld.H.Fitzgerald	Unanimous	Feb. 1
Taylors	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 1
Smiths	the same	Unanimous	Jan. 29
Barbers			
Butchers	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 2
Carpenters	the same	Unanimous	Jan. 28
Shoemakers	the same	Unanimous	Jan. 27
Sadlers	the same	one dissent.	Feb. 2
Cooks			
Tanners	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 2
Chandlers	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 3
Glovers, &c.	the same	Unanimous	Jan. 29
Weavers	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 2
Sheermen, &c.	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 3
Goldsmiths	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 2
Coopers	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 2
Hatters	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 2
Stationers, &c.	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 1
Bricklayers	the same	Unanimous	Jan. 28
Hosiers			
Brewers			
Joiners	the same	Unanimous	Feb. 2

CORPORATION OF CARPENTERS, &c.

At a Post Hall held this 28th day of January, 1790, the following Resolutions were agreed to:

Resolved unanimously, That having this day received the report of our delegates appointed to assist at the general meeting, held at the Tholsel, for the purpose of nominating proper persons to represent this city in Parliament, we do highly approve of the conduct of our said delegates, and of that meeting in general.

Resolved unanimously, That our sincere thanks be given to our worthy and upright representative, Travers Hartley, Esq. for his uniform, steady, and patriotic conduct in Parliament; and that it is with the deepest concern we receive his answer, declining the invitation of the free electors of this city to stand as a candidate at the next general election.

Resolved, therefore, unanimously, *That the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, is a fit and proper* person to represent this city in Parliament, and that we will support him free of any expence on our account.

Resolved also unanimously, That the Right Hon. Lord Henry Fitzgerald is a fit and proper person to represent this city in Parliament, and that we will support him free of any expence on our account.

Resolved unanimously, That the test subscribed on the 3d of November last, by the candidates, previous to the election of common councilmen for this corporation, be here inserted. "I *A. B.* do solemnly promise and engage that if I be elected to represent the corporation of carpenters in the common council of this city, that I will not vote for, but on the contrary will, to the utmost of my power, oppose any police commissioner, or divisional magistrate, acting under the police establishment, from becoming chief magistrate, or representative in Parliament for the city of Dublin.— Signed,

JAMES FAUCET,
JOHN HUTCHINSON,
JOHN SMITH,
JOS. MANDERS,
WILL. LANCAKE."

Resolved unanimously, That we return our sincere thanks to the virtuous majority in the common council of this city on the last quarter assembly day.

Resolved unanimously, That the foregoing Resolutions be published three times in the Hibernian Journal and Saunders's News Letter.

Signed by Order,
EDWARD FISHER, Clk. Guild.

AT a most numerous and respectable Meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the city of Dublin, held at the Royal Exchange, pursuant to public notice, on Friday the 29th January, 1790.

The HIGH SHERIFFS in the chair.

THE following Resolutions passed with *one dissenting voice.*

RESOLVED, That the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN and Lord HENRY FITZGERALD are fit and proper persons to represent this city in Parliament, on the next general election, and that we will support them free of any expence on our account.

Resolved, That a committee be now appointed to wait on *his Lordship and Mr. Grattan, to request they will* declare themselves candidates on the next general election.

Resolved, That the following twenty-one gentlemen be the committee, viz.

James Napper Tandy, Esq.
Sir Edward Newenham,
Alderman James Horan,
John Darcy, Esq.
Archibald Redford, Esq.
Hugh Crothers, Esq.
John Finlay, Esq.
William Cope, Esq.
Lundy Foote, Esq.
Benjamin Wills, Esq.
Mr. Pemberton,
Nicholas Westby, Esq.
Thomas Trotter, Esq.
George Sall, Esq.
Arthur Guinness, Esq.
Right Hon. Wm. Brabason Ponsonby,
John Patrick, Esq.
Daniel Gale, Esq.
Mr. Thomas Potter,
George Lunell, Esq.
Nath. Hone, Esq.

John Finlay, Esq. being called to the chair, the following Resolution passed unanimously:

Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting be given to our worthy High Sheriffs, for their impartial and upright conduct this day, and for their readiness in complying with the wishes of their fellow citizens.

The Sheriffs having resumed the chair, it was ordered, that the proceedings of the meeting, authenticated by the signature of the Sheriffs, also the Answer of Mr. Grattan and Lord Henry Fitzgerald, to the committee, be published in the papers.

CHARLES THORP.
JAMES VANCE.

GUILD OF MERCHANTS.

At a Post Hall, convened for the purpose of receiving the Report of the delegates appointed to consider of two proper persons to represent this city in Parliament on the next general election, it was

Resolved unanimously, That we highly approve of the nomination agreed upon at the meeting of the freemen and freeholders of this city on Friday last, of the Right Hon. Henry Grattan and Lord Henry Fitzgerald, as fit and proper persons to represent this city in the next Parliament.

Resolved unanimously, That a committee be appointed to wait on Mr. Grattan and Lord Henry Fitzgerald, to request they will declare themselves candidates, and to assure them that we will support them free of any expence on our account.

Resolved, That the following persons be, and are hereby appointed a committee for that purpose.

James Napper Tandy, William Humphrey, } Masters.
Jeremiah D'Olier, Henry Jackson, } Wardens.

John Patrick, Esq.
John Hunt, Esq.
Right Hon. John O'Neill,
James Stewart, Esq.
Sir Annesley Stewart, Bart.
Hugh Crothers, Esq.

Sir Edw, Newenham, Kt.
Alderman James Horan,
Benjamin Gault, Esq.
Benjamin Wills, Esq.
George Digby, Esq.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this day, and the Answers of Mr. Grattan and Lord Henry Fitzgerald be printed in the usual papers.

Signed by Order,
BEN. TAYLOR, Clk. Guild.

And the committee having waited on the gentlemen, received the following answer:

Dublin, 17th February, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

ACCEPT our thanks and our services — should we be returned for the city of Dublin, we shall have a pride in recollecting the great body which we represent, and the manner in which that great body has called us to its service.

We are, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect,
Your most obedient and obliged humble Servants,
HENRY FITZGERALD.
HENRY GRATTAN.

THE deputation appointed on the 29th ult. at an aggregate Meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders convened by the Sheriffs, having yesterday attended at Leinster House, for the purposes of their mission, received the following answer.

Dublin, 17th February, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU offer us a most honourable situation, in a manner worthy of yourselves and of the capital. We accept that offer with thanks and deference — should we be returned to represent this city in Parliament, we shall consider ourselves as the most honored among the servants of the people — a people whom we shall serve with cheerfulness and fidelity.

We are, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect,
Your most obedient and obliged Servants,
HENRY FITZGERALD,
HENRY GRATTAN.

AT a Post Hall of the Corporation of Brewers and Maltsters, held on Thursday the 18th of February, 1790, it was

RESOLVED, That the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN and Lord HENRY FITZGERALD are fit and proper persons to represent this city in Parliament on the next general election, and that we will give them our most active support on that occasion, free from expence on our part.

Resolved, That the foregoing Resolution be published in the Hibernian Journal and Dublin Evening Post.

Signed by Order,
SAM. AICKIN, Clerk.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeman, and Freeholders of the city of Dublin.

GENTLEMEN,

WE have been called upon by a most numerous and respectable body of electors, to offer ourselves to your consideration, for the purpose of representing this city in the ensuing Parliament. With sincere thanks we accept the invitation, and request your votes and interest at the next general election. We beg leave to assure you, that the advancement of the trade and prosperity of this country in general, and of this city in particular, shall be the principal object of our attention and exertions. But as general declarations of regard for the public welfare are more intelligible and effectual, when exemplified by specific measures, you will permit us to mention the following, as some of the objects, which, in all situations, we shall pursue and support.—A pension bill—a place bill—a bill for the repeal of the present police act—and a bill to render the minister of the crown in Ireland more effectually responsible to the Parliament of this realm.

We beg leave also to assure you, that we shall persist in our endeavours to effect a discontinuance of the new and extraordinary charges placed on the establishment by a late administration, and justified and supported by the present; and also to obtain such other measures for this country as we have hitherto urged and supported in Parliament.

Conscious of the sincerity of these assurances, we now solicit your suffrages; and if, in the course of a personal application, we should, by any accident, omit to pay our respects to every elector, we trust that omission will be attributed to the real cause—the extent of this capital, and the discharge of our duty in Parliament.

We are, with the greatest respect and regard, Gentlemen,
Your most humble and most obedient Servants,
HENRY FITZGERALD.
Dublin, Feb. 18, 1790. HENRY GRATTAN.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen, and Freeholders of the city of Dublin.

GENTLEMEN,

THE High Sheriffs having appointed Monday next the 3d of May, for the election of two members to represent this city in parliament, we request your attendance on that day at nine o'clock in the morning, at the Rotunda, to proceed from thence to the hustings.

We know your sentiments too well to entertain any apprehensions from the opposition which has been attempted to *your* independency and to *our* success. We know too well *that* opposition either to fear or respect it. Called upon by the public voice to rescue the capital from the danger of disgrace, dependency, and ridicule, we offered ourselves to your consideration, and we rely, with confidence, on your virtue and support.

We are, Gentlemen,
Your very humble and obedient Servants,
HENRY FITZGERALD.
26th April, 1790. HENRY GRATTAN.

CORPORATION of Cutlers, Painter-stainers, and Stationers, or Guild of Saint Luke, in public Hall assembled, on Tuesday 4th May, 1790, being an adjournment of quarter-day, the following Resolutions were agreed to.

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this corporation be and are hereby given to the virtuous majority of the common council of this city, for their patriotic conduct on the late election of a chief magistrate, and particularly to our three worthy representatives for their honourable adherence to the instructions of their constituents on that occasion.

Resolved, That the freedom of this corporation be presented, in the most respectful manner, to Lord HENRY FITZGERALD, for his patriotic endeavours, on all occasions, for the emancipation of this country, and his ready compliance with the wishes of his fellow citizens, in standing a candidate to represent this city in Parliament, at so important a period.

Resolved, That the freedom of this corporation be presented, in the most respectful manner, to the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN, as the most honourable testimony they can give of the high opinion entertained by them of his exalted merit as a senator, evinced at all times, by his manly, eloquent, and steady exertions to promote the commerce, advance the interest, and preserve the independence of this kingdom.

GEORGE BOOKER, Master.
ROBERT SILLY } Wardens.
JOHN CHAMBERS. } Wardens.
JOSEPH HAMILTON, Cl. Gld.

The corporation having waited on the above gentlemen, at Guildhall, in the Tholsel, they were pleased to return the following Answer:

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR approbation of us — the honour which you have done us, — and the zeal which you have shown on this critical occasion, claims, on our part, the warmest expressions of thanks and gratitude. — You have distinguished us by a most flattering and acceptable mark of your favour and confidence. We are sensible of the value of your opinion; we are proud of this public proof of it, and we shall endeavour to retain it upon all occasions.

We are, Gentlemen,
Your most humble and obedient Servants,
HENRY FITZGERALD.
HENRY GRATTAN.

By order, and in the name of the Inhabitants of Belfast, at a full Meeting convened by public notice.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

Sir, Belfast, 8th March, 1790.

We admire your abilities, we venerate your character, we are warmly grateful for your strenuous exertions on behalf of this injured and insulted country. Our wish is, that success may attend your efforts in the cause of Ireland, equal to the honour they confer on you; greater we cannot wish. Our prayer is, that you may soon see that wish realised, and that you may long live, enjoying the heartfelt satisfaction resulting from both.

We have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, Sir,
Your most obedient and obliged humble Servants.
Signed by Order,
THOMAS SINCLAIR, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen, 12th March, 1790.

I received your letter accompanying your seasonable and spirited resolutions; your country is indebted to you. By the assistance of such men, and by such judicious exertions, the people may at last obtain a redress of grievances. As an individual, I thank you; as a free subject, I am still more obliged to you; you encourage men to persist in the discharge of their duty — to persevere in seeking redress of grievances, and to co-operate with my fellow subjects in that great pursuit is my wish, my duty, and my determination.

Gentlemen, I have the honour to be,
With the greatest respect and regard,
Your most obliged and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CORPORATION of SMITHS, or GUILD of SAINT LOY, DUBLIN.

Thursday the 10th of January, 1793, being quarter-day, the following Resolutions and Address were unanimously agreed to.

Resolved, That the intolerable price exacted during the present severe season for the article of fuel, appears to be occasioned by a combination among the licensed coal factors of this city, who not only monopolize the coals, but the cars also.

Resolved, therefore, That our faithful representatives, Lord Henry Fitzgerald and the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, be requested to introduce a Bill into Parliament regulating the sale of coals, so as to place that commodity, so essential to life, to trade, and to manufacture, within the constant reach of the public.

Resolved, That the following Address, as well as a copy of these Resolutions, be presented

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

SIR,

SENSIBLE of the extraordinary advantages which this country has derived from the exertion of your talents and virtues, we have only to lament, in common with our fellow citizens, that their employment has not always proved successful in accomplishing the great objects to which your zeal to discharge the high trust reposed in you has been uniformly directed.

Among the various instances of your solicitous attention to the interests of your constituents, this populous city has peculiarly to acknowledge your endeavours to free the coal trade from the impositions to which all ranks of people, and particularly the poor, are constantly liable in that essential article; but as your efforts in the last session of Parliament to afford this relief to your fellow citizens, already taxed beyond their ability, have been frustrated, probably by the malignant jealousy of placemen, permit us, Sir, to express our earnest hope that the necessities of your grateful constituents will immediately receive from your humanity that serious consideration which the yearly revolving extortion of forestallers renders so peculiarly necessary to the great body of artisans and manufacturers.

Signed by Order,
MATTHEW WALSH, Clk. Guild.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I WILL immediately propose a Bill for the regulation of the coal trade. I hope your seasonable interposition will have due effect on the wisdom and justice of gentlemen, to induce them to consider and relieve the state of the poor in this city. I thank you most sincerely for your good opinion, and will endeavour to deserve its continuance, by an unremitting attention to your interests.

I have the honour to be,
Your most humble, obedient, and obliged Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

AT a General Quarter Assembly, of the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of the city of Dublin, held on the 20th day of January, 1792, the following Address was agreed to.

To the Right Hon. Lord Henry Fitzgerald, and the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, Representatives in Parliament for the city of Dublin.

MY LORD, AND SIR,

AT times like the present, when we see the public newspapers filled with resolutions of different associations, expressive of discontent, and urging the necessity of alterations in the happy constitution under which we have lived and prospered, it is become necessary for us, as a Protestant corporation, to speak our sentiments to our representatives in Parliament, lest our Roman Catholic brethren may be induced to believe, if, we remain silent, that we approve of the changes that we have seen proposed.

We, therefore, entreat of you our representatives, that you will oppose with all your influence and great abilities, any alteration that may tend to shake the security of property in this kingdom, or subvert the Protestant ascendancy in our happy constitution.

The Right Honorable the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs, having waited upon Mr. GRATTAN, (Lord Henry Fitzgerald being in England) he was pleased to return the following Answer.

MY LORD, AND GENTLEMEN,

WHATEVER attack has been made on your ascendancy, has proceeded from your ministers. Their attempts to model and corrupt the parliamentary constitution of this country tend directly to subvert the ascendancy of a Protestant community in their own legislature, and to establish a ministerial ascendancy in its place.

This great city has particularly felt the effect of such an influence in the imposition of a police establishment, whereby the citizens are oppressed by taxation without protection, while their humble petitions have been disregarded and set at nought; and when your instructions with this answer shall be according to your order circulated through the different corporate towns, they, I hope, will do justice to that minority who has been struggling for years for the redress of their grievance, and for the securing the weight and authority of the people in their own Parliament.

As to any other attack on your ascendancy, save that which has been already made by your ministers, I should be sorry that any such was meditated, and if any, will not fail to resist it.

The Roman Catholics whom I love, and the Protestants whom I prefer, *are both, I hope, too enlightened to renew religious animosity.*

I do not hesitate to say I love the Roman Catholic — I am a friend to his liberty — but it is only in as much as *his liberty is entirely consistent with your ascendancy, and an addition to the strength and freedom of the Protestant community.*

These being my principles, and the Protestant interest my first object, you may judge that I shall never assent to any measure tending to shake the security of property in this kingdom, or to subvert the Protestant ascendancy.

HENRY GRATTAN.

26th Jan. 1792.

Ordered, that the foregoing Address, together with the Answer thereto, be published three times in the Dublin Evening Post and Faulkner's Journal.

ALLEN and GREENE, Town Clerks.

On Thursday a deputation from the Brewers of the city of Dublin waited on the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, and presented him with the Freedom of their Corporation, which had been granted to him in the following manner:

Be it Remembered, That on Tuesday the 26th day of June, 1792, being public quarter-day of the Corporation of Brewers, or Guild of St Andrew, Dublin, Arthur Guinness, Esq. Master, Hugh Trevor and Thomas Andrews, Esq. Wardens, the following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That it is our duty to mark, with every degree of respect and gratitude in our power, the conduct of those who render essential service to their country.

Resolved, That it is our opinion that the most essential service has been rendered to this kingdom in general, and that every exertion of the most distinguished abilities have been employed for the promotion of the brewing trade in particular, by the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, in the late and former sessions of Parliament.

Resolved, therefore, That as a lasting testimony of our gratitude for, and approbation of his conduct, we admit him to the freedom of this corporation, and that the same be presented to him in the most respectful manner in a gold box.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I am proud of the honour you have done me, and I am particularly thankful for the very flattering expressions in which you have conveyed it. I shall persevere in the principles and measures which have obtained your approbation.

Gentlemen, I have the honour to be,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

HOSIERY TRADE.

At a Post Hall of the Corporation of Hosiers, or Guild of Saint George, Dublin, specially convened on Wednesday, March 28th, 1793, the following Address was agreed to.

To the Right Hon. H. Grattan.

Sir,

In gratitude for your attention to our interests in support of a petition adopted, to Parliament, by our body, and forwarded through your zealous endeavours, permit us thus publicly to express that gratitude, and humbly to request your acceptance of our cordial thanks. Though your senatorial conduct, evinced by a continued series of exertions, cannot derive added honour from our approbation, yet we claim, in common with all those who feel your beneficent virtues the right of paying the tribute they expect — an honest praise.

You have hitherto invariably studied the general interests of your country; we rest confident, that you will not omit any opportunity of urging Parliament finally to grant the prayer of our petition, with whatever may in consequence tend to uphold the hosiery manufactory.

WILLIAM JACKSON, Master.
JOHN HEADFORD, } Wardens.
THOMAS JORDAN, }

And the Master, Wardens, and Brethren having waited on Mr. Grattan and presented the foregoing Address, he was pleased to return the following Answer.

Gentlemen,

For the Address which you are pleased to present, I return you my most sincere thanks.

To unite and reconcile all men at this most critical time in support of our constitution is my earnest wish, and that such a wish should receive your approbation is additional confirmation, sanction, and strength.

To the objects you recommend I shall pay every attention. I have ever considered the present police as inadequate to the protection of the city, and requiring the interposition of Parliament.

I feel how much you over-rate my powers; but I will assure you, that whatever they are they shall be ever employed in the service of my country.

I have the honour be, with the highest esteem,
Your most humble and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

St. Bridget's Parish, June 19th, 1793.

At a Vestry held this day to take into consideration Heads of a Bill now before Parliament, for the more effectually collecting the Public Money by Presentment in the county of the city of Dublin.

The CHURCHWARDENS in the Chair.

The following Resolutions and Address were unanimously agreed to.

That we consider the clause, tending to deprive the several vestries of the county of the city of Dublin, of the powers for appointing collectors of the grand jury cess, an insidious attack on our privileges, and a violation of our rights and immunities.

That it is our opinion our representatives in Parliament ought to oppose it strenuously, and exert all their endeavours to prevent a clause of any such tendency from passing into a *law*.

That the early communication by our faithful representative, the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, of the contents and tendency of that extraordinary clause, demands our thanks and gratitude.

That the following Address be presented to him by the Churchwardens of this parish:

Sir,

We should cease to be men were we insensible of favours; we should cease to be Irishmen were we deficient in gratitude. But determined not to detain you from those great objects, which, luckily for this kingdom, occupy both your time and talents, we entreat you will consider this Address as containing all those warm expressions of genuine gratitude, and all the language of heartfelt acknowledgments, which are so abundantly due to the spirited author of our political emancipation—to the watchful guardian of our rights and liberties. And, believe us, Sir, when we observe, that we look with anxious impatience and honest ambition to that fortunate day, in which your great political powers, and pre-eminently distinguished abilities, shall be allowed to take a decided lead in the ministerial measures of Ireland.

Resolved, That the above Resolutions and Address be published in Saunders' News Letter.

JOHN HEARTWELL, }
JAMES TANDY, } Churchwardens.

Monday, 12th of January, 1795, being public quarter-day of the Corporation of Merchants or Guild of the Holy Trinity, Dublin.

Masters.

Jer. D. O'Lier and Nath. Hone.

Wardens.

Samuel Tyndall and Hugh Skeys.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to be presented to our worthy brother the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, representative in Parliament for the city of Dublin.

Sir,

We, the Masters, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Merchants, presuming on the peculiar attention you have ever paid to the interests of this metropolis, beg leave again to recommend to your exertions the abolition of the present system of police, which repeated experience confirms us in the opinion to be obnoxious, oppressive, and inefficacious. In duty to ourselves and our fellow citizens, we present to your consideration the propriety of an inquiry into the conduct of the board for paving, lighting, and cleansing the city of Dublin. The tax levied on the inhabitants for those desirable purposes being great, the accommodation given in return to the public being inadequate and in-efficient. Confiding in your zeal for the general welfare of the country, and sensible of the great importance of the subject, we entreat your aid to any investigation which may be instituted in Parliament relating to the operation of the corn laws of the kingdom. We cannot avoid expressing our apprehensions, that the system requires some alteration or modification, when the safety of the public so often demands the disagreeble, though necessary interference of the executive power to suspend the law of the land. Allow us once more to express to you our grateful acknowledgments for your services in Parliament; we have viewed with pleasure and satisfaction your exertions to conciliate, interest, and unite our fellow subjects in support of that happy constitution which your virtue, wisdom, and splendid talents have been so eminently displayed to establish, to defend, and to invigorate.

Which I attest,

CHAS. SEXTON, Clk. Gld.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I AM much honoured by the confidence you place in me, and I shall endavour to merit its continuation by directing my attention to those subjects which are to the welfare of the manufactures of this city so highly interesting.

I see the situation of your trade in particular, and it shall not want my humble but sincere assistance: that my assistance shall be successful I cannot promise; I am sure it is well intended.

I have the honour to be,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

THE following Address of the Catholics of Dublin was presented to Mr. GRATTAN by the Gentlemen appointed for that purpose at the Meeting in Francis Street, on the 27th February, 1795.

To the Right Honourable Henry Grattan.

SIR,

WE are instructed by the Catholics of Dublin to offer you their humble tribute of thanks and gratitude, as well for the eminent services which you have rendered to this kingdom on various occasions, as for your able and generous exertions in their cause. It is not easy to do justice to the merits of a man whose name is connected with the most brilliant events of his time; and who has already obtained the highest of all titles, THE DELIVERER OF HIS COUNTRY: but though it is impossible to add to your fame, by any terms we can employ, it must be grateful to you to learn, that you have a place, not only in the admiration, but in the affections of your countrymen.

To be thus loved and admired is surely an enviable distinction. It may not, perhaps, be sufficient to preserve or purchase station and power at court, but to a well-formed mind it is a source of purer satisfaction, than the favour and protection even of monarchs or their ministers.

Few men have had it in their power to do so much for their native land, as you have done for Ireland. When you first entered into public life, garrison habits, and provincial prejudices, were opposed to Irish interests and feelings; and, what was still more discouraging, the different descriptions of people in this country, far from being ready to meet in a common point for their mutual advantage, were kept asunder by perverse and unintelligible antipathies of a religious nature. Into this chaos of contradiction you infused your spirit, and brought order in some measure out of confusion.

The first effort of your eloquence was to rouse the Irish Parliament to assert its own independence; and, notwithstanding the habits of subjection which particular causes had induced, you were successful.

At present you are engaged in a pursuit equally honourable to your head, and still more to your heart. As mover of the Catholic bill, you are endeavouring to inculcate the necessity of moderation and justice, where you before inspired courage; and urging men who triumphed over foreign supremacy, to an act of much greater dignity and difficulty, a sacrifice of the prejudices of their youth and education.

In this work, so full of genius and public spirit, *and which goes to the creation of a people*, as your former exertions went to the forming of a constitution, you have already made considerable progress; and when you and your illustrious friends were called to the councils of a virtuous Viceroy, we looked with confidence to the accomplishment of your patriotic intentions.

Some enemy, however, to the King and to the people has interposed his malignant and wicked suggestions, and endeavoured to throw obstacles in the way of our total emancipation. But we are far from giving way to sentiments of despondency and alarm. We feel the justice of our pretensions, and we are persuaded that what is just will prevail over the arts of perfidy and falsehood.

What gives us the most sensible satisfaction is the general union of sentiment that pervades all ranks and descriptions of Irishmen on the present occasion. Never before did Ireland speak with a voice so unanimous. Protestants and Catholics are at this moment united, and seem to have no other contest but who shall resent most the outrage that has been offered to Irish pride in the intended removal of a patriotic Viceroy * from the government, and you and your friends from the councils of this kingdom.

For our own part, it shall be our study to cultivate an union so happily begun. We have no selfish or narrow views. We do not wish to acquire privileges for ourselves, in order to abridge the privileges of others; for we know that, in matters of liberty and constitution, to give is to gain.

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* Earl Fitzwilliam; who came to Ireland in January, and was recalled in February, 1795.

With regard to the men who may have the hardihood to take the situations which you and your friends are about to lay down, if unfortunately for this country such an event should happen, we shall only say, that we do not envy them the sensations which they must take up at the same time. That man's temper must be of steel, who can hold up his head amidst the hisses of a betrayed and irritated nation.

As to you and your friends, your departure from power will not disturb the serenity of your minds. The veneration and gratitude of the people will attend you in retirement, and will preserve you from reflections which must be the portion of those who may be your dismal and melancholy successors.

Signed by order,
THOMAS BRAUGHALL, Chairman.
JOHN SWEETMAN, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

In supporting you, I support the Protestant. We have but one interest and one honour, and whoever gives privileges to you, gives vigour to all. The Protestant already begins to perceive it. A late attack has rallied the scattered spirits of the country, from the folly of religious schism, to the recollection of national honour, and a nation's feuds are lost in a nation's resentment. *Your emancipation will pass*; *rely on it, your emancipation must pass:* it may be death to one Viceroy, it will be the peace-offering of another; and the laurel may be torn from the dead brow of one governor to be craftily converted into the olive of his successor.

Let me advise you by no means to postpone the consideration of your fortunes till after the war; rather let Britain receive the benefit of your zeal during the exigency which demands it, and you yourselves while you are fighting to preserve the blessing of a constitution, have really and *bonâ fide* those blessings.

My wish is that you should be free now; there is no other policy which is not low and little; let us at once instantly embrace, and greatly emancipate.

On this principle I mean to introduce your bill, with your permission, immediately after the recess.

You are pleased to speak of the confidence and power with which for a moment I was supposed to have been possessed.

When his Majesty's ministers were pleased to resort to our support, they took us with the incumbrance of our reputation, and with all our debts and mortgages which we owed to our country.

To have accepted a share of confidence and council without a view to private advantage, will not meet I hope with the disapprobation of my country; but to have accepted that share without any view to public advantage, would have been refinement on the folly of ambition; measures, therefore, public measures and arrangements, and that which is now disputed, were stipulated by us, were promised in one quarter, and with assurances they were not resisted in another.

In the service of government, under his Excellency's administration, we directed our attention to two great objects, the kingdom and the empire. We obtained certain beneficial laws; the discovery and reformation of certain abuses, and were in progress to reform more; we obtained a great force, and a great supply with the consent and confidence of the people. These were not the measures of courtiers, they were the measures of ministers.

His Excellency Lord Fitzwilliam may boast that he offered to the empire the affections of millions, a better aid to the war than his enemies can furnish, who have forfeited those affections, and put themselves in their place.

So decidedly have the measures of Ireland served the empire, that those who were concerned in them might appeal from the cabals of the British cabinet to the sense of the British nation. I know of no cause afforded for the displeasure of the English cabinet; but if services done to Ireland, are crimes which cannot be atoned for by exertions for the empire, I must lament the gloomy prospects of both kingdoms, and receive a discharge from the service of government, as the only honour an English minister can confer on an Irish subject.

I conceive the continuance of Lord Fitzwilliam as necessary for the prosperity of this kingdom; *his firm integrity is formed to correct, his mild manners to reconcile, and his private example to discountenance a progress of vulgar and rapid pollution; if he is to retire, I condole with my country.* For myself, the pangs on that occasion I should feel, on rendering up my small portion of ministerial breath, would be little, were it not for the gloomy prospects afforded by those dreadful guardians which are likely to succeed. I tremble at the return to power of your old task-masters; that combination which galled the country with its tyranny, insulted her by its manners, exhausted her by its rapacity, and slandered her by its malice; should such a combination, at once inflamed as it must be now, by the favour of the British court and by the reprobation of the Irish people, return to power, *I have no hesitation to say that they will extinguish Ireland, or Ireland must remove them.* It is not your case only but that of the nation. I find the country already committed in the struggle; I beg to be committed along with her, and to abide the issues of her fortunes.

I should have expected that there had been a wisdom and faith in some quarter of another country, that would have prevented such catastrophe; but I know it is no proof of that wisdom to take the taxes, continue the abuses, damp the zeal, and dash away the affection of so important a member of the empire as the people of Ireland; and when this country came forward, cordial and confident, with the offering of her treasure and blood, and resolute to stand or fall with the British nation. It is, I say, no proof of wisdom nor generosity to select that moment to plant a dagger in her heart.

But whatsoever shall be the event, I will adhere to her interests to the last moment of my life.

HENRY GRATTAN.

Address of the Roman Catholics of the county of Tipperary, 20th March, 1795.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

If services to Ireland are to be deemed crimes, if a life devoted to the successful assertion of the dignity and independence of his native country, excites the suspicion and distrust of those who seem desirous to convert an imperial kingdom into a dependent province, the patriot who enjoys the confidence, and has earned the gratitude of millions, will find in the consciousness of his own integrity the best reward of his virtues, and the firmest support of his measures, in the unanimous concurrence and approbation of every class of the people.

The baleful breach of narrow and bigotted politicians may check, but cannot destroy, the blossoms of our just expectations whilst you live; and we think we cannot despair that *freedom, constitutional freedom,* will extend and must be imparted to all Irishmen.

You, Sir, have our confidence; and whilst we have formed the most sanguine expectations from your unshaken virtue, and most brilliant talents, we feel at the same time an honest pride by our attachment to the constitution, and by our long tried loyalty, to have entitled ourselves to your approbation and support.

Signed by order,
THOMAS LANIGAN, Chairman.
GEORGE GREENE, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I thank you for the confidence you are pleased to repose in me, and for the choice of the time in which you are pleased to express it.

To have incurred the displeasure of a powerful quarter is to me no new misfortune. If I wanted consolation, I have it in my own conviction, in your confidence, and in the approbation of my country.

The justice of your cause, your attachment to his Majesty, your desire to preserve and cultivate a connexion with Great Britain, the firm but dutiful tone with which you apply for privileges, and now the interposition of your Protestant brethren in your favour, must ultimately secure your success.

The tranquillity observed at this present interesting moment, in places, too, where so many rumours to the contrary were so confidently circulated, is an argument that the Catholics are too much in earnest to be tumultuary, *and that they seek through the peace of the country the privileges of the constitution.*

The most adverse to your cause, (save the few who are always adverse to the people,) will at last see the propriety of your claims; they will surrender their prejudices to their patriotism, and receiving you as fellow-subjects and fellow-freemen; will in the end give an honest victory to their intellect and their understanding. In common with the rest of the country, I lament that by the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam your expectations of redress should have received so great a discouragement; but I shall despond, indeed, if the departure of his Excellency was to be followed by the restoration of the old system of government and its advisers. *If restored to their power, I have said they would extinguish their country; after mature deliberation, I feel myself obliged to repeat the expression in its fullest extent.*

It is on the same due consideration I must again repeat another part of a former answer, where I have the honour to express my entire concurrence with those who have remonstrated to the throne against the restoration of that destructive and degrading system of government; committed as I feel myself, to support to the utmost of my poor abilities, my countrymen and their just efforts, and to share the unjust resentments to which such efforts may expose them.

I have the honour to be
Your very humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

LONDONDERRY.

At a most respectable and numerous Meeting, held in pursuance of a requisition from 110 citizens, April 2d, 1795.

ALDERMAN LECKY,
ALDERMAN FERGUSON, } Presiding.

Resolved unanimously, That the government of Earl Fitzwilliam, having for its objects the union of all the people of Ireland in attachment to the constitution, by admitting all to the full enjoyment of its privileges; the improvement of the people, by providing for all classes the means of education; the alleviation of the public burthens, by retrenchment and reform; and the security of the kingdom from external attack, or internal commotion, by conciliating the affection and meriting the confidence of the people; hath fully justified the favourable opinion of his Lordship's character and councils which we early expressed.

Resolved unanimously, That the recall of Earl Fitzwilliam excites in us the deepest regret, and the most serious alarm; we regret that the nation is deprived of able and honest ministers, and we feel the most serious alarm lest the government should return into the hands of a combination of men, who, for a series of years, have galled the country by their tyranny, insulted it by their manners, exhausted it by their rapacity, and slandered it by their malice; and thus colour be given to the dangerous doctrine, that a British minister prefers the interests of a few individuals, to the peace, union, and prosperity of a whole people.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Mr. Grattan, and the other members of Lord Fitzwilliam's administration, for their liberal and enlightened policy; particularly evinced in their purpose of restoring to our Catholic brethren the full enjoyment of the privileges of the constitution.

Resolved unanimously, That these resolutions be signed by the secretary, and transmitted to our representatives in Parliament, who are hereby instructed, as they value the good opinion of their constituents, the prosperity of this nation, the connexion with Great Britain, (which we most earnestly desire to maintain,) and the sacred rights of the constitution that are so deservedly dear to us, to exert themselves in procuring the exclusion from any share in the government of this country, those men who have advised measures so injurious to its interests, and so hazardous of its peace.

Resolved unanimously, That copies of these resolutions be transmitted to the Duke of Portland, Earl Fitzwilliam, and Mr. Grattan; and that they be published.

James Scott, Esq. being called to the chair,

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to Alderman Lecky and Alderman Ferguson, for their convening this meeting, agreeable to the anxious desire of the citizens, and for their proper conduct as presidents.

Signed by order.

At a Meeting of the Gentlemen and Freeholders of the County of Galway, convened by the High Sheriff, April, 5, 1795, a Petition to his Majesty, and this Address to the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, was agreed on unanimously.

To the Right Hon. H. Grattan.

Sir,

We lament with you, but we condole with the empire, that some malignant influence has caused you to retreat from your ministerial situation; we lament that you have lost power*, inasmuch as we deplore that the active influence of virtue is diminished; as patriots, we hailed the auspicious inaugurations of virtue and talents in the Irish Cabinet; as patriots, we lament it is suspended; while you could influence, we had no doubt but that we should be united into one people, by the removal of every civil distinction arising from religious difference of opinion, and that thereby we should deserve the name of a nation.

Sir, It is highly honourable to your nature, although not to the age we live in, that your dismission was supposed a necessary and previous step to the return of some that are not reputed to love the people.

CHARLES BLAKE, High Sheriff.

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* Though Mr. Grattan was consulted, he held no office or place under the government.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

IN or out of confidence, with or without a share of power, in all the changes of political life, I am attached to your interests for ever.

Ministers every hour may precipitate, but the country is a fixed light, and in that luminary I shall never want an object to serve and to contemplate. The late Lord Lieutenant, who so wisely and mildly administered this country, was pleased to honour me with a certain share of his confidence. I feel myself particularly happy when the choice of the purest mind is confirmed by the approbation of my country.

In your address to me, so kind and so honourable, you much over-rate my talents. I hope you do not over-rate my principles; but whatever they are, talents or principles, they are at the service of the public. Nor do I know of any question more a part of that service, than the one you so justly recommend—the emancipation of the Catholics; those who may succeed to direct the councils of this country could not have a prouder opportunity, nor do I know of any legacy to bequeath them more valuable, than the power of giving freedom to such a portion of their fellow subjects.

I would accompany that bequest with a parting prayer, "That, whoever shall be your ministers, they may exceed their predecessors in talents, and rival them in patriotism; and above all, that they may avoid the dreadful system of abuses and grievances, of tyranny and plunder, that formerly blemished the government of their country."—To exercise the functions of a minister, it is necessary to have the confidence of the sovereign. But there is another qualification for the minister of a *free country*, not less indispensable than the choice of the king—it is the love of the people.

Gentlemen, I have the honour to be,
With the greatest esteem,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

THE following is the Address presented to Mr. GRATTAN, by the Students of the University.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

SIR,

WE, the Students of the University of Dublin, entering with the warmest sympathy into the universal feeling and interest of our countrymen, beg leave to unite our voice with theirs in declaring our admiration of your great and uncommon talents, and a reliance on your steady patriotism and unshaken integrity. We have with sorrow beheld the removal of a beloved Viceroy, whose arrival we regarded as the promise of public reform, and his presence the pledge of general tranquillity.

If this event should be accompanied, (as we have reason to apprehend) by your removal from his Majesty's councils in this nation, our regret will have received the last additional circumstance of aggravation, and our despondency will be complete. Relying, however, on the wisdom and benignity of his Majesty, we yet entertain a hope that the nation will not be deprived of the salutary measures flowing from your councils and advice, and that the harmony and strength of Ireland will be founded on the solid bases of Catholic emancipation, and the reform of those grievances which have inflamed public indignation.

We therefore entreat you to persevere in exerting the full energy of your splendid talents for the attainment of those objects which the present alarming posture of affairs, and the consenting wishes of the nation so loudly demand.

THOMAS MOORE, Chairman.
W. WILLIS, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

INGENUOUS YOUNG MEN,

FOR this effusion of the heart, I owe you more than ordinary gratitude, and am proud to sympathize in your native, honest, and unadulterated impressions. I receive your address as the offering of the young year—a better garland than the artificial honours of a court; it is the work of disinterested hands, and the present of uncontaminated hearts. May that ardour which glows in your breasts long exist, and may the sentiments which you breathe long prevail; they are founded in principle, enlightened by letters, and supported by spirit. The subjects which you mention and recommend, I feel and shall pursue.

I lament the recall of a patriot Viceroy. Assisted by men much abler than myself, the reform of that system you condemn I shall not fail to attempt; bound as I now am, to the rising, as well as the passing age, and happy, as I shall be, to go on in the service of both.

I join in your fullest wishes for the Catholics; and I feel the important service which you now render them, by marking in their favour the sentiments of the rising generation; doing, at the same time, so much honour to yourselves, when you give, I had almost said, your first vote in favour of your country.

I am bound to your University by every tie of affection and duty. The sentiments of your address give me a new and just opportunity of saying to her, through you—" Esto Perpetua"—Thou seat of science, and mother of virtue.

I am, with the sincerest regard,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

9th April, 1795.

At a Meeting of the Corporation of Cutlers, Painter-Stainers, and Stationers, or Guild of St. Luke, Dublin, on Tuesday the 7th day of April, 1795, being quarter day, it was

Resolved unanimously, that the removal of Earl Fitzwilliam from the Government of this Country, has been, in our opinion, a national calamity; from the prospect which his administration afforded of a reform of many corruptions and abuses; the establishment of an enlarged and liberal system of public education the abatement of malignant persecutions, and above all, that object which has, at length, become so dear and interesting to Irishmen,—a complete restoration of rights and privileges to the great body of the people.

Resolved unanimously, That, whilst we express the warmest approbation of the conduct of our faithful representative, the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, and glory in being "*committed*" with him for the salvation of Ireland, we do also exhort him, at this momentous crisis, to pursue, with unabating energy, the attainment of these important objects:—persuaded that the subtilties of a British cabinet, and the insulting domination of its supporters here, must yield to the determined and constitutional voice of a united country.

Resolved, That these Resolutions be communicated to Mr. Grattan in the most respectful manner.

The Corporation, on the same day,

Resolved unanimously, That the minority of the Common Council of the city of Dublin, deserve our warmest thanks, for their manly opposition to that system of discord and disunion, uniformly pursued to divide the people, under the shadow of religious distinctions, but solely kept up for the more certain security of preserving the means of corrupting the Magistrates of this city.

Resolved, That these resolutions, together with Mr. Grattan's answer, be published in the public papers.

ADAM SOMERVILL, Master.
SIMON STRŐKER, } Wardens.
GEORGE BURNET, }

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen, 13th April, 1795.

The system with which the people, by their numerous remonstrances, are committed, I agree with you is inconsistent with the salvation of the country. I hope no British minister will be rash enough to revive it. I rejoice that my countrymen have had the spirit and judgment to bear their honest testimony against it; and I join in their remonstrances from the bottom of my heart, making no doubt that their constitutional efforts, and united voice, must at last prevail.

To the utmost of my power, but with what hopes of speedy success I know not, I shall labour for the improvements you recommend,—for the emancipation of our Catholic brethren, and for the blessings of a mild government, that loves the people of Ireland, whose object shall be their liberty, and whose reward shall be their approbation.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest regard,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

On Tuesday, 27th April, 1795, the following Address was presented to the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, by the Gentlemen delegated for that purpose, by the Catholics of the Queen's County.

To the Right Honourable Henry Grattan.

Sir,

We, the Catholics of the Queen's County, in common with our brethren throughout the kingdom, join to approach you, with the most sincere and unfeigned expressions of gratitude, as well for those benefits which you were so instrumental in procuring for us, as for those which you had given us the best founded reason to expect, from the commencement of that administration, of which you formed so distinguished a part, and whose premature termination we most sincerely deplore.

But when we thus express our feelings as Catholics, suffer us to add, that we consider ourselves still more bound to you by esteem and gratitude, as Irishmen. We respect and honour that consistent patriotism, which carried into office, the sentiments and the principles of opposition—the measures proposed by you and your illustrious colleagues—the investigation of ancient abuses—the detection of unbounded peculation—the restoration of a whole people to their just rights—the general spirit of reform which actuated your councils, though they could not but render you obnoxious to a British cabinet, have established you firmly and completely in the hearts of your grateful countrymen. A removal from power, produced by such conduct, reflects no dishonour, it is those who succeed you that merit condolence. The dungeon of Kosciusko has more true splendour than the palaces of his oppressors. For us, as Catholics, as Irishmen, as connected with you, from our local situation in this country, by more immediate ties, we again beg leave, in our own name and in that of our country, to return you our most sincere thanks, and to assure you of our most ardent gratitude and firm support; and to request that you may continue your honourable career, until you shall restore your countrymen to the constitution, as you have already restored a constitution to your country.

Signed by order,
On behalf of the Catholics of the Queen's County,
JAMES WARREN, Chairman.
PATRICK DELANEY, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

YOUR Address coming from a county with which I am connected, deserves, on my part, particular attention. Whatever advantages you have hitherto obtained, they are short of my wishes —what you are likely, for the present, to obtain, will prove, perhaps, short of my hopes; if so, the disappointment you will attribute to other causes than the want of sincerity and zeal in your advocates.

In common with others, I have contended for your emancipation, —for that, for other objects of public good, I shall persist to contend to the utmost of my power, and to the end of my life.

To correct the abuses that have taken place in the government of this kingdom, and to change the old system by which she was disgraced, was on those, who were consulted by the last chief government, a necessary duty; on those who now sway the councils of this country, the same duty devolves. I hope they will discharge it with fidelity, and by so doing, prevent the degradation both of the country and of themselves.

I am happy to see your body unite with us, under the general description of Irishmen, of that honour no civil incapacities can deprive you. To the name of Irishmen, I should wish to add the full privileges of free subjects; and thus increase the honour, by enlarging the interest.

I am, Gentlemen, with the greatest respect,
Your very humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

GENERAL ELECTION.

Saturday, 29th July, 1797.

AT a numerous Meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, held this day at the Royal Exchange, pursuant to public notice.

Hon. V. B. LAWLESS in the Chair.

THE following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to.

RESOLVED, That by right and the principles of the constitution, the people are entitled *exclusively* to appoint the third estate of the legislature, and that the security of their civil and political liberty, depends upon the uninterrupted enjoyment of that indefeasible right.

RESOLVED, That as the Commons House is at present constituted, the return of more than two-thirds thereof is usurped by a few individuals as private property, and that as to the remainder, any attempt to exercise the popular right is rendered fruitless, through the corrupt and enormous influence of the crown, and hazardous through the recent introduction and violent exercise of a military power, by which great numbers of our unfortunate countrymen, on the slightest suspicions of their entertaining political opinions different from those of the present administration, have had their houses burned, or been themselves transported or put to death, without even the *form of accusation or trial!*

Resolved, therefore, That not wishing to have any exercise of the elective suffrage that is not *free*, nor any representation of the people that is not *full*, *fair*, and *adequate*—we will abstain from any interference whatever at the ensuing election, and, as far as in us lies, leave to the King's ministers the appointment of the King's Parliament.

Resolved, That we do heartily approve of the principles and sentiments contained in the Address of our late excellent representative, the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN*; and that we are sensible he has not retired from that post, which he so eminently filled, as long as any hope remained that the parliamentary exercise of his virtues and talents could be of advantage to his country. But we trust he will recollect, that his public duty does not cease with his representative situation.

V. B. LAWLESS, Chairman.

Hon. V. B. Lawless having left the chair, and James Hartley, Esq. having been called thereto,

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to the Hon. V. B. LAWLESS, for his spirited and proper conduct in the chair; and that these Resolutions be published.

JAMES HARTLEY.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

MY FELLOW CITIZENS,

A SLIGHT indisposition has prevented me from giving your resolution an immediate answer. When the country is put down, the press destroyed, and public meetings, for the purpose of exercising the right of petition to remove ministers, are threatened and dispersed by the military, I agree with you, that a general election is no more than an opportunity to exercise, by permission of the army, the solitary privilege to return a few representatives of the people, to a house occupied by the representatives of boroughs. When the Irish Parliament was perpetual or provincial, it was of little moment how that Parliament was constituted; but becoming independent, it became essential that it should become constitutional; and in order to be constitutional, it was necessary that the commons should form an integral part thereof. Fourteen years you gave to the experiment, and having failed, withdraw. You refuse to take a small portion of that representation, the whole of which belongs to you—you will not confirm an unjust distribution of your property, by becoming a poor rent-charger on a poor portion of your inheritance—you refuse to give your sanction to your exclusion, and will not attend a ceremony which has proved the trade of the individual, and the ruin of the country. While I entertain such an opinion, I beg to express my profound respect for some enlightened and valuable individuals who differ from me; opposed to their opinion I should suspect my *own*, if it was not fortified by yours. I think the people of this country are perfectly right, when they insist to be nothing less than the whole of the third estate—the people are, in contemplation of the constitution, only a part of the legislature; but they are the whole of the Commons. Is that too much they gave to the crown? They ask the representation—they ask the representation of that prince to whom they gave the crown, without derogating from any of those rights which exist, independent of any artificial formation the people claim, under the general constitution of the land, and under their own particular declaration of right, to be an integral part of the legislature. The constitution tells them, that their liberty exists in their exemption from any laws, save those to which, by representation, they consent—their declaration of rights tells them, that the King, the Lords, and the Commons of Ireland, are the only body competent to make her laws; by which it is not only asserted that the Irish Parliament is exclusively the Irish legislature, but that the people are an integral part thereof. If, then, the people are not suffered to form that integral part, the constitution of the realm, and the claim of right, are evaded and defeated; the minister stands in the place of Parliament, he becomes the arbiter of your lives and fortunes, and transfers that dominion to the British cabinet, on whom he depends, and thus reimposes on this realm the legislative power of another country.

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* Address to the citizens of Dublin, on his declining to stand for the representation of the City; vide ante.

When your ministers tell you, that a reform in Parliament was only a popular pretence, I cannot believe them to be in earnest. I wish they had made the experiment—happy had it been for the country, happy had it been for themselves—they would then, indeed, have possessed but one-third of the constitution, but they would not have lost the whole of the empire.

Foreign disgrace leads naturally, and of course, to the subject of domestic oppression. I cannot here omit that part of your resolution, which adverts to the barbarities committed on the habitations, property, and persons of the people; and I beg to join with yours my testimony against such repeated wanton, savage, abominable, and permitted outrages, barbarities, and murders, such as no printer will now dare to publish, lest he, too, should be plundered or murdered, for the ordinary exercise of his trade.

I beg to take this opportunity of returning my thanks to the Aldermen of Skinner's Alley, who have expressed their approbation of my conduct—I do believe our measures were agreeable to the sense of the nation—I lament they were not seconded by the majority of Parliament. If that majority, whose motives I do not discuss, whose infatuation I lament; if that majority, instead of attaching itself to the court, had considered itself as a part and parcel of the people, they had consulted their dignity better. Why am I superior to ministers or viceroys? Because I do not assume to be superior to my fellow citizens. Had that majority taken a proud post, and identified with the people; had they seized the opportunity of doing justice to Ireland, and, instead of voting millions, without getting any thing for the country, supported us on our motion to ameliorate the condition of the peasantry, in our motion in an equal trade, in our attempts to emancipate the Catholics and to reform the Parliament, their country would now have liberty and peace, instead of distraction at home, and negociation abroad, where the British negociator remains with 110 Irish boroughs about his neck, to pay for every felony the minister has committed on the Irish, so many *Erics* in empire.

You express a wish that my public duty should not cease with my representative capacity; in that idea I entirely concur—my seat in Parliament was but a part of my situation, my relationship to my country was higher and more permanent—the duty of a citizen is commensurate with the powers of body and mind.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,
Your most humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

UNION.

AGGREGATE MEETING.

16th January, 1800.

At a most numerous and respectable Meeting of the Freemen and Freeholders of the City of Dublin, assembled this day, by requisition, at the Sessions House.

The High Sheriffs in the Chair.

The following Gentlemen were constituted a Committee, who reported the following Resolution and Address, which were unanimously agreed to by the Meeting: Mr. Hartley, Mr. Dease, Mr. Rawlins, Mr. R. Macdonnell, Mr. Moore, and Mr. Alderman Howison.

That the constitution of Ireland, as established at the memorable period of 1782, is the indefeasible and unalienable right of ourselves and our posterity.

That we do most solemnly and firmly protest against any acts which in destroying that constitution, exceeds the powers with which, our representatives in Parliament have been invested, and we do assert, that they have no right to adopt the disgraceful proposal of this our extinction for ever. *Their* powers are limited in time and extent, but the rights of the people are unprescriptable and immortal.

That the reproposal of the measure of a legislative union with Great Britain, to the same Parliament, which, not a year since, rejected then its discussion with indignation, is as insulting as its consequences may be dreadful.

That the means resorted to for the purpose of procuring a parliamentary concurrence in this measure, and a delusive approbation of the people, are base and unconstitutional, and we call on those who supported the measure, to recollect that while they think they can violate the constitution with impunity, we remember we have taken a solemn oath to it.

That we contemplate with horror the ungenerous language held to us in the hour of our distress—the manner in which we acquired our glorious constitution is openly avowed; it remains for us to say, that a constitution which we proudly asserted, ought never to be basely surrendered; and we pledge ourselves most solemnly, while we have life, we will never be the willing slaves of dishonourable negotiation.

That we hail the auspicious moment of internal unanimity, when the cordial concurrence and co-operation of all sects and persuasions, as common brothers in a common cause, shall render any attempt upon our liberties, from whatever quarter it may proceed, disgraceful and ineffectual.

That the grateful thanks of this meeting be returned to the virtuous minority of the House of Commons, who supported the independence of Ireland, by opposing a legislative union with Great Britain.

That we feel the most lively satisfaction, at the return of our late able and virtuous representative, HENRY GRATTAN, Esq. to our senate, at this alarming crisis of our liberty, and that we derive the most encouraging presage from the addition of such splendid talents, and such well tried virtue to the honest friends of Ireland, who unseduced by corruption, and unawed by power, have continued firm to the trust reposed in them by their country.

That the following Address be presented to Mr. GRATTAN.

SIR,

FOR your spirit and patriotism, accept our most grateful acknowledgments—you have come forward at a time most critical to Irish liberty, to save the constitution.

This attempt of the minister, the annexation for ever of the kingdom of Ireland to the British Parliament, is hateful to every lover of his country. When you so illustriously distinguished yourself, in establishing the independence of the Irish legislature, the support of the people was not wanting; you will have it on this occasion, and with your virtues and talents it would be criminal to despair of success.

RESOLVED, That the High Sheriffs be requested to present said Resolutions and Address, accompanied by such Freemen and Freeholders as choose to attend.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I AGREE with you in thinking the present crisis to be truly alarming: after considering the project of a union fully, fairly, and dispassionately, with every advantage promised and professed, *I do* *really and sincerely think it the worst measure ever proposed in the country.* I shall contribute my mite to oppose it. I have no confidence in the powers of my own broken and shattered exertions*, but I have sufficient strength remaining to bear my last testimony against an union.

HENRY GRATTAN.

Dublin, 18th January, 1800.

CORPORATION OF HOSIERS.

At a Meeting of the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Hosiers, or Guild of Saint George, held at their Hall, on Thursday the 17th of December, 1801, the same being Quarter Day, the following Resolutions were agreed to, viz.

Resolved, That as several candidates are canvassing for the representation of this city, in the event of a dissolution of Parliament, we deem it our duty as a corporate body, vitally interested in the peace and welfare of this metropolis, so to express our sentiments as shall assist timely to express all vain and improper pretensions, while they assure such as are founded on the basis of independent principle and liberal character, and, therefore, merit the support of liberal and independent men.

Resolved, That we view with the deepest concern the attempts which are now making to debase the proud and invaluable character of an elector, into the instrument of bigotted and party rage, and to revive in the public mind, those heats and animosities, whose past action all humane and worthy men deplore, and which every good and truly loyal subject wishes to be sunk in utter oblivion; and we conceive, that practices so generally injurious to public peace and social confidence, and particularly hurtful to the interests of this city, render it the more obligatory on us to act, as early as possible, on the preceding resolution.

Resolved, That great commercial situation and connexion, a character at once unstained by the violence and extremes of party, and upheld by rational loyalty and patriotism, and an independence of fortune placing its possessor above the temptations of corruption, are the best qualifications which can be combined in a representative of this great trading city, and form necessary securities for the rights and interests of his constituents.

Resolved, That we consider those important qualifications eminently to centre in the person of Mr. J. Latouche, junior. We, therefore, zealously espouse his claims to the representation of this city, and pledge ourselves to his decided support, when a general election shall enable us to exercise the elective franchise so much to our own honour, and the probable welfare of our native city.

Resolved, That we strongly regret, that the old, tried, and revered friend of Ireland, Henry Grattan, Esq. *does not, at*

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* Mr. Grattan s health was at this period considerably impaired by long continued illness.

this important juncture, furnish us with an opportunity of manifesting, in an elective capacity, that steady attachment to his person actuating us as private members of society; and of assisting, by our voices, to replace him in the representation of his native city, which he has so long served in Parliament with a knowledge unequalled, abilities the most transcendant, and an integrity which has never been shaken by the pursuit or the possession of power.

THOS. M'KENNY, Master.
JOHN M'KENNY, } Wardens.
PETER GREHAM, }
ROGER GOWER, Clk. Gld.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR, 9th October, 1804.

WE, the Catholic students of the academy of Kilkenny, beg leave to thank you for the honour of your visit, and to convey to you the enclosed dialogue as an humble tribute of our gratitude to the earliest and ablest defender of that body to which we belong. We feel, Sir, and we feel with all the ardour characteristic of Irishmen, that if at this moment we are allowed to cultivate literature and science in our own country, that privilege we owe, in a great measure, to your exertions.

If the slender and puerile abilities which now, with a mixed sensation of awe and affection, presume to approach you, shall ever by education, and by the assistance of the great models of classical eloquence, which you have given to your country, be matured into any thing like genius, it shall be devoted to render dear the name and celebrate the praises of HENRY GRATTAN.

We have honour to be, Sir,
With most devoted attachment,
Your most obliged and humble Servants,
THE SCHOLARS OF THE ACADEMY
OF KILKENNY.

INFRA dictus dialogus pastoralis in modum carminis, duos inter academiæ Kilkenniensis alumnos, quorum alter Damon alter vero Strephon nominatus habitus est, postquam academium visitavit HENRICUS GRATTAN.

Damon.—Ille quis est vir, qui nostras inviserit ædes;
Hanc urbem cum tot docti nunc agmine complent,
Dignatur solus nostros spectare labores.
Strephon.—Nonne igitur novis, quem dicit Hibernia patrem,
Qui toties solitus moderari fræna senatus
Et libertatem et patriæ sacra jura tueri,
GRATTANUS ille est; egregium et memorabile nomen!
Viribus ingenii et verborum fulmine pollens
Hic, si fors sinerit, rem constituisset Hiberniam:
Posteritas hunc sera canet, rebusque dolebit
Tam breve, proh pietas! hunc præsedisse gerundis;

Huic fato major virtus, et conscia recti
Religio, non quæ diro bacchata furore
Spargere dissidium, stimulare in prælia fratres
Præcipit, at Christi servans vestigia, cives
Pacifico socii vincloque jungit amoris,
Huic ingens animus, magnæ constantia mentis;
Quam nec res adversa premit, nec prospera tollit.
Damon.—Ergone vir tantus, qui Graiis atque Latinis
Eloquii palmam eripuit, coram affuit, et non
Exceptus nobis plausu fremituque secundo.
Oh! si iterum redeat, cur non funalia splendent,
Lætitiæque? Senum resonantia tympana pulsant;
Hoc civis dicet ——
Strephon.—Heu patriæ miserabile fatum!
Ut nebulis, quas ipsa facit, fax lucida Phœbi
Inductis obscuratur, sic splendida virtus
Invidiamque odiumque parit, sed nube fugata,
Clarior effulget Phœbus, victisque malignis
Legiferosque inter famæ numeratus in æde,
Vivet in æternum memorandus GRATTANUS ævum.

Datum Academio Kilkenniæ, Anno
Domini 1804, Oct. ix.

AT a Meeting of the Roman Catholic Gentlemen, Freeholders, and Inhabitants of the county and city of Kilkenny, convened by public notice, on Saturday the 22d of June, 1805.

PIERCE EDWARD FORSTAL, Esq. in the Chair.

THE following Address was unanimously agreed to, and ordered to be presented to HENRY GRATTAN, Esq.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

WE request you will accept our most cordial thanks for the very admirable and able support you afforded the Catholic petition, when it was lately canvassed in the Imperial Parliament.

We naturally looked up to your eminent virtues and abilities, which heretofore established our civil constitution, to perfect that great work now, by effecting an equitable extension of religious liberty.

Your former achievements induced high expectations, but your genius and exertions surpassed them all.

As Irishmen we exult in your abilities, and pride ourselves upon your virtues; but, as Roman Catholics, we feel a yet warmer sentiment, when we see these virtues and these abilities elevated to their noblest efforts in our behalf.

From the justice of our cause, from the eloquence of our supporters, and from the wisdom and liberality of that tribunal to which we appeal, we trust the day will come, when prejudice shall soften, and when we shall be admitted to a due participation of that constitution, to the maintenance of which, in all its branches, we devote our properties and our lives.

Signed by order,
P. E. FORSTAL, Chairman.

SPEECH OF MR. GRATTAN *,

At a Meeting of the Guild of Merchants, in the Rotunda, on Friday, November 7, 1806.

Gentlemen,

In addressing this assembly, the representative of the mercantile interest of this city, and as such, possessing, no doubt, much of that public and free spirit which belongs to trade, I feel much confidence—a confidence founded upon the conciousness that, in the course of not a short political life, I have laboured, probably not altogether without success, to promote both your trade and your liberty. With the history of those public labours, my fellow citizens cannot be unacquainted. At a very early period, so early as the year 1778, I proposed an address to Parliament for the freedom of your trade. In 1779, I contributed, and successfully, to carry the principle of that address into effect. In 1780, I moved a resolution in Parliament to assert the independency of the Irish legislature. In the year 81, I repeated that motion. In the year 82, I *carried* it, and the *Parliament of Ireland became* FREE. I afterwards continued those efforts, and proposed and carried various other measures, for the better securing of that trade, and of that liberty, which the spirit of my country had assisted me to obtain. In 85, your trade was attacked by the propositions; I opposed them, and exerted myself to defeat that attempt, as I have always opposed every attempt to take away by influence, what had been obtained by integrity. In the years which followed, my labours were directed to the same objects. I opposed every measure tending to promote the influence of the crown at the expence of the constitution; and most particularly did I apply myself to resist every measure which trenched upon the privileges and interests of the city of Dublin. In doing this, I did not apply myself to the passions or to the prejudices of my fellow citizens; I consulted their interest only; I did not cultivate the narrow spirit of party; I did not apply myself to the *little* motives which may have sometimes influenced some of my countrymen; I applied myself only to those *great principles* by which alone liberty can be acquired or preserved; by which alone nations can be rendered prosperous, and great communities kept together. Without regard to the prejudices of the people, or to the influence of the crown, I combatted the abuses which prevailed in the different branches of the state and of the constitution. The consequence was, what I could not but have foreseen, I made myself many enemies among those to whom such abuses were beneficial. I was assailed at different times by the persecution of the minister, and by the violence of the people. I remained *unsubdued* by *either*. When the *Constitution of Parliament* was endangered, I forgot the past; I remembered nothing of my countrymen, but that they were fellow citizens. I came back into public life to defend the constitution we had obtained. I came back oppressed by infirmity, and had to combat at once the power of the court, and the vehemence of the people. I engaged in the defence of that Constitution, without any feeling of resentment for the obloquy or for the persecution I had suffered. I came without any feeling, but for the interest of my fellow citizens, accompanied by a determination to defend it. After those services, if the situation of our country did not call for further exertions, I might have retired without dishonour; and *now*, if my only object were to be in Parliament, I may come into it for a seat in another country, without trouble and without expence. I prefer to this the trouble, the fatigue, the anxiety, of a popular election. Why do I prefer it? Because I think it would be but little honourable to this city, to my country, that the man who had faithfully and laboriously served her for *thirty* years, should be obliged to sit in Parliament for a borough in another country, in order to serve his own; because it would appear a circumstance of whimsical incongruity, if I, who had opposed and defeated the claims of England to legislate for Ireland, should be returned to Parliament by England, whose claims I had opposed, after rejection by that country whose legislative independence I had defended. But I am charged with having the support of government. As to any undue exertion of the influence of the government in my favour, I call on you to judge of the truth or falsehood of that charge, by the character and conduct of those who support me, and of myself. Who are they that support me? Are they not men who have ever opposed the government when government aimed at the independence and privileges of the people. Are they not men who have always supported the freedom and independence of election against the power and influence of the crown? men incapable of being commanded by any government to do what was not consistent with the purest spirit of public virtue. To suppose that such men would betray their fame, and abuse the confidence of the public, to reduce this city to a borough, is a supposition contrary to common sense; nor is it less so, to suppose that this loyal city should capriciously and senselessly oppose a candidate, if otherwise unexceptionable, merely because that candidate was not opposed by the government.

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* In 1806, Mr. Grattan was called upon to stand again as candidate for his native city, and was once more returned; but not without opposition.

As to myself, what has there been in *my* public life that can give colour to such a charge? Why should *I* resort to unconstitutional influence to support me? I offer myself to your city with no view to title, with no view to wealth, with no view to power. For what purpose, then, can I offer myself, but that of rendering, and continuing to render, service to the public. Shall I, who have during thirty years contended against the crown *for* the people, now solicit the crown to reduce this city to a borough, that I may represent it? Gentlemen, I might on such an occasion humble myself before you by professions, and by promises, and by entering into a detailed refutation of such charges; but I abstain, because I think I pay a greater respect to your understanding, by referring to it for the answer of such senseless accusation, confident that you will listen to truth as spoken to you by *facts* within your knowledge.

With such pretensions, Gentlemen, I offer myself to you to represent this city in Parliament. In my canvass I have found a cordial reception, not merely such as belongs to an honest mind, but such as characterises a free people. Should this city return me to Parliament, I shall discharge my duty to them on the same principles I have hitherto done. Should this corporation concur with their fellow citizens, I shall consider it an additional circumstance of gratification; should *both* reject me, should the city of Dublin refuse to elect me, I shall lament the inconstancy of the city, but I shall not desert their interests.

AT a Meeting of Catholic Citizens of Dublin, held on the 13th December, 1806.

DENIS THOS. O'BRIEN, Esq. in the Chair.

RESOLVED, That it is a duty incumbent on us to provide that Mr. GRATTAN's late election for this city shall not be attended with any expence to him.

Resolved, That it appears to this meeting, that a fund, sufficient for that purpose, has been subscribed by the Catholics of Dublin.

Resolved, That the following Address be presented to the Right Honourable HENRY GRATTAN.

SIR,

ACCEPT the congratulation of the Catholic citizens of Dublin on the event of your election. Friend and favourite of the people, you it peculiarly befits to represent in Parliament the first city of a land, which owes to your exertions its franchises and its prosperity. It was the triumph of Ireland, when the most conspicuous distinction, which any of its commoners can now receive from popular approbation, was placed upon that brow to which genius, patriotism, public service, and public virtue, conspired to direct it.

In placing you, Sir, at the head of its representation, the city of Dublin has rendered justice to itself; it has averted the national injury which must have been sustained by your retirement; or the national disgrace, if any place of inferior note had been permitted to confer the trust of legislation upon the habitual guardian of this country's rights, upon the man whose name for thirty years has been connected with every improvement which has been adopted or proposed, constitutional or commercial. Under any circumstances, the accession of your talents, of your character, of your authority, to the councils of the empire, would have been valuable, but it becomes indeed important as great emergencies arise, and at a moment when many concerns of this member of the state appear urgently to press for legislative arrangement.

In this great act of national honour and national duty, it was our misfortune not to have co-operated so effectually as we wished. Notwithstanding the liberal provisions enacted in 1793, so inoperative have been the laws designed to relieve us, that not a single individual of our body was on the late election enabled to vote as a freeman of Dublin. One mode remains by which we can associate ourselves to the merit of this event; frequent, and even late examples, authorize us to make the proposal, and in it we earnestly entreat your acquiescence. Your return to Parliament has, beyond any other occurrence, been gratifying to every patriotic and independent feeling; let us be permitted to render it altogether a public concern, by taking upon us the expences unavoidably incurred in a popular and protracted election. Those who have now the honour to address you, in the honest and zealous impulse of what they feel to be their duty, have made provision for this purpose; it is the tribute, Sir, of men attached to your interest and to your cause, because they identify these objects with the freedom and welfare of their country.

DENIS THOMAS O'BRIEN, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

IN answer to that part of your Address which attributes to me what I do not pretend to arrogate to myself, I can only say, that I took my part in the public service in common with others.

The honour of representing the capital of my native country I feel to be great, and still greater from the zeal which was manifested in my favour. To you and to your body I am very much indebted. You supported me with activity and with effect; and though the Catholics could not vote as freemen, yet, I hope, the corporations, from good sense and good temper, coupled with a regard to their own real interest, will not long hesitate to second the intention of the legislature, and give you the full benefit of those franchises which the statute designed.

The last idea contained in your Address, which proposes to discharge the expence of my election, is in a high degree generous and splendid. It does honour to yourselves and to the person who is the object of it. Gratified most sincerely by that honour, I must decline the offer; but I feel the obligation undiminished, unabated, and perpetual.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Grand Jury Room, 1st September, 1810.

The Midsummer Quarter Sessions Grand Jury, for the county of the city of Dublin, have agreed to the following Resolutions.

Resolved, That at this perilous and important crisis, when the fate of the British empire depends upon the wise and salutary exertions of all its virtuous inhabitants, we consider it an indispensable duty we owe to ourselves, to our country, and to posterity, to call upon our countrymen of all descriptions, to join in a most solemn appeal to our Most Gracious Sovereign the King, and to the Imperial Parliament, pointing out to them the great hardships this country labours under in consequenee of the Act of Legislative Union; a law, which, although in full operation for ten years, has, during that period, instead of increasing the comforts, prosperity, and happiness of the people, agreeable to the hopes held out by the advocates of that fatal measure, produced an accumulation of distress, extending not merely to the privation of comforts, but to the absolute want of the necessaries of life, whereby we dread that instead of cementing, it may endanger the connexion between the sister islands, if not speedily repealed.

Resolved, That nothing can make this country prosperous, and the people of all ranks happy, but an honest resident Parliament, that can inquire into and relieve their wants; and we call upon our present faithful representatives, the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, and Robert Shaw, Esq. to be unwearied in their endeavours to have its legislature restored to this ill-fated country.

Resolved, That we view with great satisfaction the frequent and manly exertions of the Common Council of this city, for the last three years, in endeavouring to have petitions presented to the Imperial Parliament, praying a repeal of that unfortunate law; and we call upon them to persevere, and have no doubt but their patriotic struggles will be crowned with success.

1 SAMUEL MADDER, Esq. Foreman.

2 John Dickenson,
3 W. T. Briscoe,
4
5 William Leet,
6 Thomas Magill,
7
8 John M‘Laine,
9 Robert Brocas,
10 James King,
11
12 George Holmes,
13 John Judge,
14 William Davis,
15 John Willis,
16 Samuel Neville,
17 Walter Peter,
18 John Evatt,
19
20 Edward Stephens,
21 George Gonne.

The Foreman having left the chair, and the Treasurer being called thereto, the following Resolution was unanimously agreed to.

Resolved, That the sincere and heartfelt thanks of this Jury is hereby given to our worthy Foreman, Samuel Madder, Esq. for his upright and gentlemanly conduct in the chair since the commencement of the session, and particularly on the present occasion; and that these Resolutions be signed by the Treasurer, and published.

ROBERT BROCAS, Treasurer.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN, 16th September, 1810.

I MUST ever be interested in what affects my fellow-citizens.

Without going minutely into the causes of their complaints, I beg to assure them that I was an enemy to the extinguishment of the Irish Parliament, and must be a friend to its restoration.

I have the honour to be
Your most faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan,

One of the Representatives of the City of Dublin in Parliament.

WE address you, Sir, in the name of your constituents, the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin, convened at the Royal Exchange on the 18th September, inst. for the purpose of humbly submitting to his Majesty and to Parliament, petitions for the repeal of the Union.

These petitions exhibit a feeble outline of the ruinous consequences of that measure; consequences which you foresaw with the prophetic wisdom of a statesman, and which you characterised with that surpassing energy of eloquence, and that undaunted ardour of patriotism, which have distinguished your political career, from the period at which you gave a free constitution to Ireland, to the unhappy time when that constitution sunk beneath the united efforts of despotism and fraud.

Your constituents, Sir, implicitly confiding in that integrity which has never been questioned, in that spirit which has so frequently been proved, and in that patriotism which has identified your name with that of your country, doubt not that you will exert in her behalf those transcendant talents, by which you obtained so much for her liberty, and to which, aided by the representation and the people of Ireland, she still looks for the re-establishment of her rights.

By the destruction of these rights, by the annihilation of her Parliament, she has been reduced to the afflictions of oppression and of poverty. Despoiled of her local legislature, deprived of her resident nobles and gentry, she does not yet, however, feel debility; nor will she, while she has such an advocate as HENRY GRATTAN, yield to the suggestions of despair. Your constituents, Sir, feel in common with the Irish people, that the melancholy effects of the union are most alarming and dangerous, not only to the internal safety of Ireland, but to the strength and interests of the empire, serving as they do to encourage the common enemy, in his design of subverting the constitution, and of subjugating the people of these islands, To a repeal, then, of that fatal measure, they look for a relief from their present sufferings, and for a protection from those more dreadful evils by which they are menaced. Your constituents, therefore, Sir, feel justified in the hope, that when their petition is considered by their most Gracious Sovereign, his Majesty's parental affection will induce him to attend to their prayers. They also feel confident that when the representatives of Great Britain have the true causes of Irish grievances fairly and fully stated to them, they will sympathize with their fellow subjects, and feel this incontrovertible truth, that by whatever right the people of England enjoy a free and local legislature, by the same right the people of Ireland are justifiable in claiming a regeneration of their native Parliament, under the authority of which alone they can feel themselves safe, happy, or free. Your constituents are persuaded, that such a re-establishment of a national constitution, is the only means by which commerce can be revived, or that the cheerful contributions of the people to the payment of taxes, for the support of the honour and safety of the empire, can be permanently secured.

Signed by order,
FREDERICK W. CONWAY, Sec.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE the honour to receive an Address presented by your committee, and expressive of their wishes that I should present certain petitions, and support the repeal of an Act, entitled the Act of Union. And your committee adds, that it speaks with the authority of my constituents, the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin.

I beg to assure your committee, and through them my much beloved and much respected constituents, that I shall accede to their proposition, I shall present their petitions, and support the repeal of the Act of Union, with a decided attachment to our connexion with Great Britain, and to that harmony between the two countries, without which the connexion cannot last. I do not impair either, as I apprehend, when I assure you that I shall support the repeal of the Act of Union. You will please to observe, that a proposition of that sort in Parliament, to be either prudent or possible, must wait until it shall be called for and backed by the nation. When proposed I shall then, as at all times I hope I shall, prove myself an Irishman, and that Irishman whose first and last passion was his native country.

As to the personal approbation with which you have honoured me, it is, I must say, your kindness that overrates my pretension; but I have one pretension which neither age, nor time, nor distance can efface, an attachment to Ireland, unaltered and unalterable.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest esteem,
Your very humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Dublin, 4th October, 1810.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

At a Meeting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland, held in Dublin, at 4, Capel-street, on 22d December, 1810.

OWEN O'CONNOR, Esq. in the Chair.

Resolved, That the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, be respectfully requested to present our petition to the Commons House of Parliament the ensuing sessions.

Resolved, That the cordial and grateful thanks of the Catholics of Ireland are eminently due, and hereby given, to the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Resolved, That our chairman be requested to communicate the above thanks to Mr. Grattan, in the most respectful manner.

OWEN O'CONNOR, Chairman.
EDWARD HAY, Secretary.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir, Dublin, 24th December, 1810.

I have the honour to enclosing to you two Resolutions, which were agreed to at the last Meeting of the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland.

I am directed to request that you will have the goodness to communicate to me your determination on the subject of presenting the Catholic Petition to the House of Commons.

I am also directed to add, Sir, that the Catholics of Ireland confide their claims, with a species of filial confidence, to the support of their long-tried—their best—their brightest advocate; and that they reckon on having their rights again distinguished and advanced by a display of that eloquence which has been, without deviation devoted to the interests of Ireland.

They feel, Sir, that it is not in language to express the tribute of gratitude which your country owes you; or to describe those sentiments of respectful affection which the Catholics of Ireland entertain for you.

Permit me to say, that it affords me personally great satisfaction to have this opportunity of assuring you, that I participate most warmly in the general feelings of respect and gratitude towards you.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, Sir,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
OWEN O'CONNOR.

To Owen O'Connor, Esq. Ballinagar, near Elphin.

Sir, London, 1st January, 1811.

I have the favour of the Resolutions of the General Catholic Committee and your letter.

I inclose my answer to the Resolutions. To your letter I dare say with great truth, that I feel very deeply the friendly expressions which it contains; expressions most valuable, when I consider that they are directed by the Catholics and approved of by you — happy to assure you that I shall go on in support of their interests to the best of my abilities. I beg to add, that in so doing, I do no more than pursue my duty and my inclination; my duty which orders me to try to restore to their privileges my countrymen and my equals — my inclination which most powerfully coincides with that duty.

I am with respect and esteem, Sir,
Your most sincere and faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

To the General Committee of the Catholics of Ireland.

Gentlemen, London, 1st January, 1811.

I have received from the General Catholic Committee two Resolutions; one wherein I am honoured with their thanks, and a second which honours me with the Catholic Petition; in answer to both I beg leave to say with warm acknowledgments, that I feel in their favourable opinion a most sincere satisfaction, and that I shall present the Petition with an everlasting attachment to their cause and to their interests.

I have the honour to be,
With the most sincere respect and regard, Gentlemen,
Your most faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Letter from Mr. Grattan, to the Secretary of the Board of Education.

Sir, Welbeck-street, 25th March, 1811.

I had the honour to receive your letter, written by the commands of the Board of Education, expressing their desire that the absent members of that body should communicate by letter their plans on the subject of the education of the poorer orders of the people of Ireland.

In obedience to the wishes of the Board I venture to submit, what I do not presume to call a plan, but instead of one, a few ideas founded on that plan which the legislature has already recommended.

I would pursue the suggestion of the Act that established parish schools, with such alterations as must arise from the change of time, circumstances, and condition.

According to that Act, I would recommend parish schools as bringing education to every man's door; but parish schools better endowed than the present, and on a more extensive, and by far a more comprehensive, foundation.

And I would submit, as a proper subject matter of education in those schools, not only the study of the English tongue, reading, writing, and arithmetic; but also the study of certain books of horticulture and agriculture, together with treatises on the care and knowledge of trees.

I would recommend that such studies should be pursued in the English schools already established.

I should recommend that in those parish schools the Christian religion should be taught; but that no particular description of it should form a part of their education—in the place thereof, it might perhaps not be improper to devise some general instructions regarding the four great duties of man,—duty to God, duty to one another, duty to the country, and duty to the government.

I beg to add, that one great object of national education should be to unite the inhabitants of the island, and that such an event cannot be well accomplished, except they are taught to speak one common language. I think the diversity of language, and not the diversity of religion, constitutes a diversity of people. I should be very sorry that the Irish language should be forgotten; but glad that the English language should be generally understood: to obtain that end in Ireland, it is necessary that the schools formed on a plan of national education, which teach the English language, should not attempt to teach the English religion; because the Catholics who would resort to our schools to learn the one, will keep aloof if we attempt to make them proselytes to the other; and we should, by that attempt, reject one great means of uniting our people; and we shall continue to add to the imaginary *political* division, supposed to exist in a difference of religion, a real *political* division formed on the diversity of language.

I have the honour to be,
Your most faithful Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ROMAN CATHOLIC BOARD.

The Address of the Roman Catholics of Ireland.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,
Dublin, 8th May, 1812.

The Catholic Board should have feebly discharged the duty they owe to the people, with whose confidence they have been honoured, if they had omitted the first opportunity which presented itself, of sending forth to the British empire, the warmest expressions of their thanks, for the late splendid and astonishing efforts of their powerful and revered advocate, in the cause of the Catholics of Ireland.

Grateful is the task, Sir, to be the chosen medium of that feeling, which now throbs in every bosom, and swells in every heart.

Grateful is the task to be the organ of that proud and dignifying sentiment, which triumphantly claims you, the unequalled champion of Irish rights — which now calls you the hope of the British empire, and holds you up to your countrymen, as ONE of those firm and unbending anchors by which that empire is to be steadied in the storm that blows round her. But, Sir, doubly grateful is the task, to generous minds, of remunerating an age of services, by the ardent and passionate homage of the heart, and of putting on the records of our history the thanks of a calumniated and injured people, to him who has devoted gigantic talents, and spotless integrity, to the vindication of their feelings, and the assertion of their rights. Rising in your efforts, with the difficulties of your country, you have called back our memories to that glowing period of our history, when every heart hung with rapture upon your words — when every eye beamed at your name — and every peasant in the land walked firm and erect, under the proud feeling your eloquence created. In the enthusiasm of the present moment, we imagine the regeneration of our freedom, and are almost seduced to believe, that the genius of Ireland has only extended the circle of her power from a kingdom to an empire. Such is the fascination of an eloquence, which at once delights, persuades, and instructs: which is unwearied in the vindication of the injured, and unconquerable in the cause of justice.

In 1792, you told the Irish legislature, and the English secretary, that Catholic Emancipation would enrich the Protestant, and communicate strength and vigour to the empire. The Protestant property of Ireland has more than doubled by the Emancipating Bill of 1793 — and the Catholic people of Ireland advanced in numbers, in prosperity, and in character. That country, which for six hundred years, was a burthen to the English minister, became an ex-fountain of supply — the unclogged industry of Ireland poured forth its offerings of gratitude, and repaid with a miser's profit, the blessings of her freedom. Such was the effect of that liberty, of which you were the great and eloquent parent — such the effect of that policy, which you have laboured to preserve and extend. The union, it is true, has thrown down the noble edifice, which you had so gloriously erected — and now the question remains to be decided, whether the wisdom of the Imperial Parliament will throw the freedom of the Catholic, into the scale, against the injuries of the union? But why ask the question? The last struggle — your commanding minority of *two hundred and fifteen*, has been the victory of reason, of eloquence, and of truth, standing at the head of the Protestant property — of the Protestant rank — of the Protestant character of the British empire; you may securely proclaim the triumph of your favourite cause to an admiring world. Like Fox, your great and immortal predecessor, your last and greatest glory will be, the striking off the chains of intolerance from millions of your fellow creatures.

The children of Ireland, yet unborn, will be taught to lisp the name of GRATTAN; and her gratitude, as lasting and as fruitful as her soil, will preserve the memory of that man, who, for forty-years, pleaded her cause with an eloquence unequalled — a spirit undaunted — and a patience unconquered and unconquerable.

The Address was presented by the Earl of Kenmare, Sir Francis Goold, Baronet, Messrs. Burke, M'Donnell, and Hay, on the 5th of June, to which Mr. GRATTAN returned the following Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

AN Address so warm in its expression, to the object of it so honourable, and, when I consider the great body of the Irish Catholics, so highly respectable, I cannot receive without more than common emotion. It proves the generous and characteristical ardour of my countrymen, and shows by their strenuous and cordial sensations that they deserve to be defended.

I have considered as my first duty the defence of the liberty and character of my country, and have looked to her approbation as my greatest happiness.

I have contemplated the civil disabilities as a great public calamity, and have regarded their repeal as a great public blessing.

I think your question has succeeded.

The good sense of the people of both countries, and their disposition to concord have prevailed.

To see you in possession of your civil capacities will be the happiest moment of my life.

You have deserved them well.

May you obtain them soon — may you enjoy them long, and transfer them to your posterity, with undiminished lustre.

I have the honour to be,
Your most faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

London, 6th June, 1812.

COUNTY CORK.

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

IN the series of Resolutions passed at a numerous and respectable Meeting of the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, held on the 14th instant, none I have the honour to assure you was more unanimously adopted, or cheered with more deserved applause, than that which attempts, however inadequately, to convey the expression of Catholic gratitude for your unrivalled exertions in our cause, and of which I have the hononr to annex a copy.

I have the honour to be, Dear Sir,
Your faithful humble Servant,
WILLIAM COPPINGER, Jun. Chairman.

Burney's-court, Middleton, Cork, 18th August, 1812.

RESOLVED, That vain would be any attempt to express in adequate terms, the measure of our obligations to Earl DONOUGH-

MORE and Mr. GRATTAN; a victorious result awaits their transcendant services, and will be their best reward; but to them will grateful posterity join us, in principally ascribing the mighty conquest of their country's rights, and in recording their imperishable names in the foremost class of our national benefactors.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

DEAR SIR, Tinnehinch, 3d September, 1812.

I beg to return my thanks to the numerous and respectable Meeting of the Roman Catholics of the county and city of Cork, for the honour they have done me in approving of my endeavours to serve the Catholics, and to advance their just and prosperous cause. Permit me to add my acknowledgments to you, for the very kind and cordial manner in which you have done me the honour to communicate their sentiments.

I have the honour to be, with very sincere respect,
Your faithful Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

To T. R. Ryan, Esq. Scarteen, Limerick.

SIR, Tinnehinch, 5th August, 1812.

IN answer to the Resolution of the Catholics of the county and city of Limerick, met the 24th of July, and expressing their approbation of my conduct, I beg to say how sensible I am of the value of their good opinion, and how anxious I shall be to preserve it.

I beg to return you my particular thanks, with the assurance, that I am with much sincerity,

Your faithful Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

DEAR SIR, London, 25th May, 1813.

THE question was lost last night. My speech was very short, and very ill taken. They have made me say, that if the Catholic clergy opposed the clauses, they were enemies of the community. I could say no such thing; but said that if the bishops opposed those clauses, they would be the cause of the loss of the Bill, and do an injury to their community.

I am, &c.
H. GRATTAN.

BRITISH CATHOLIC BOARD.

At a numerous Meeting of the General Board of British Catholics, assembled at the Earl of Shrewsbury's, in Stanhope Street, 29th May, 1813.

EARL of SHREWSBURY in the Chair.

The two following Resolutions, moved by the Lord Stourton, and seconded by the Lord Arundel of Wardour, were unanimously passed.

First, That the warmest thanks of the Roman Catholics of Great Britain, are justly due to every member of the House of Commons, who supported their cause during the late discussion of a Bill for the removal of the civil and military disqualifications, under which his Majesty's Roman Catholic subjects now labour. And that a deputation from this Board, will wait upon the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, who moved for leave to bring in the Bill: the Right Honourable George Ponsonby who seconded the same, and the rest of the Committee who prepared the same.

IRISH GENERAL CATHOLIC BOARD.

17th July, 1813.

The following Address to Mr. Grattan, was moved at the Catholic Board, on Saturday last, by Mr. M'Donnel; it was seconded by Mr. O'Connel, and carried unanimously.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

We, the members composing the Roman Catholic Board of Ireland, beg leave to address you on the close of your parliamentary labours for the session, and to request your acceptance of the expression of our warmest gratitude for the continuance of your efforts in our cause, and that of our country; it is not amongst the least conspicuous of your claims upon us, that during a course of years, no obstruction of whatever nature, has been able to relax your zeal, or affect your perseverance; to the warmth of that zeal, under the inspiration of genius, we stand indebted for the exhaustless variety of topics, your mind invariably pours forth, on the repeated discussion of our question. With you the subject is ever fresh, commanding, and original, boundless in materials, and resistless in argument.

Prejudices, rendered almost inveterate by the unremitting agency of misrepresentation, calumny, and habit, have disappeared before you; the *comprehensive* policy of the restoration of our rights, has made its way to the understanding of England; self-interest has been enlightened, monopoly silenced, and the foundation, we trust, firmly laid for a *simple repeal* of the penal code, and for the triumph of reason and of justice. To this *repeal* in vain would intolerance oppose her dying struggles. Her reign is past—her sentence sealed, and the great *principle of universal religious freedom*, which we claim for ourselves, and for every worshipper of the Deity, moves on to silence her votaries and replace her worship.

England is prepared to atone for her system towards Ireland; through you, and the co-operation of your distinguished supporters, will be her expiation, and with *it* her strength!

When that day of peace, good will, and confidence shall arrive, we boldly foretell that your predictions of imperial benefit, and cemented service, will not long remain unaccomplished; that benevolence, under the guidance of true religion, will breathe its spirit of universal charity over the land; that the enemy will find but one heart, and one arm in the empire; and that all painful remembrance will be for ever buried in oblivion.

For you, Sir, it is reserved to render the fabric of the state perfect, and imperishable; and having once given a constitution to your country—to give a people to the constitution.

CATHOLIC BOARD.

Stationers' Hall, Saturday, 25th July.

RANDALL M'DONNELL, Esq. in the Chair.

The Secretary read Mr. Grattan's Answer to the Address from the Board to him, which had been presented immediately before the Meeting. The Answer is as follows:

To the Members composing the Roman Catholic Board of Ireland.

Gentlemen,

I have the honour to return you my thanks, with great truth and sincerity.

If I have laboured in you cause I have done no more than my duty—and though I cannot arrogate to myself the praise which your partiality bestows, I do acknowledge, at least, the merit of having persevered in your service.

For the past disappointment attending my efforts in the cause of that perseverance, I now find some consolation, when I perceive the truth of what you yourself, so justly remark, "that prejudices have abated, and that a comprehensive policy has made its way to the understanding of England." I found in the last session of Parliament, the spirit of the House of Commons on the Catholic subject to be conciliating; I availed myself of that auspicious disposition; and I yet trust that the justice of your cause, the number of your friends, the ascendancy of common sense, accompanied by a spirit of conciliation, will lead to a conclusion, which shall be the attainment of your liberties, and the harmony and strength of the empire.

I have the honour to be, with many thanks,
Your most faithful, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir, Limerick, 17th August, 1813.

With pride and satisfaction I avail myself, as chairman of an Aggregate Meeting of the Roman Catholics of this county and city, held on the 12th inst. to convey to you their unabated gratitude, for your faithful and affectionate services in their cause.

From the earliest dawn of hope that first cheered their long benighted way, to the present stage of maturity, you watched over their interests with even *parental* regard. In return, Sir, their grateful sentiments towards you partake even of filial affection.

May you live, Sir, to see and enjoy what I am confident is the first wish of your benevolent mind—the happiness of your country fixed on the solid basis of the harmony of its people.

With sentiments of respect and esteem,
I have the honour to remain, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
WILLIAM ROCHE.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Sir, 29th August, 1813.

I had the honour of receiving your letter on Saturday.—I beg to return my thanks to the Aggregate Meeting, and to you also, for their very kind and favourable opinion, and for the very animated terms in which they express it.—My object shall ever be the service of my country, and my happiness their approbation.

I am, Sir, with many thanks and much respect,
Your most sincere, faithful and humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CATHOLIC BOARD.

20th November, 1813.

NICH. MAHON, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. Hay read the proceedings of the last Meeting.

The Chairman stated, that he had, on Friday night, received two letters, one from Lord Donoughmore, and another from Mr. Grattan, in reference to the Resolution, intimating the wish of the Board that a communication be held with these illustrious personages, on the form of a bill for Catholic emancipation.

The letters were as follow:

To the Right Honourable Henry Grattan.

Sir, 6th November, 1813.

I have the honour to enclose you a copy of a Resolution entered into by the Catholic Board, on the 6th instant, whereby I am requested to consult you and the Earl of Donoughmore, " to ascertain if it be your pleasure to receive a communication from the Board, upon the form of a bill for the relief of the Catholics of

Ireland." Any communication it may be your pleasure to mention on this subject, I shall not fail to report.

And have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
NICHOLAS MAHON,
Chairman of the Meeting of the Catholic Board, held on 6th Nov.

Mr. Grattan's First Letter in Answer.

Sir, Tinnehinch, 12th Nov.

I received your communication, and shall be ready to see you.

I think you had better fix a time with Lord Donoughmore, if he can come to town, that we may be together.

I am, &c.
H. GRATTAN.

Earl Donoughmore's Letter.

Sir, Knocklofty, 12th Nov. 1813.

In proceeding to answer the question to which I am called on for my reply, namely, whether I am prepared to receive a communication from the Catholic Board, touching the form of a bill for their relief, it is necessary to keep in view the avowed principle and object, for the establishment and furtherance of which this proposition has been opened and enforced, in order to our being able to acquire a correct opinion of the nature and extent of the communication thus intended to be made. To arrive at such an understanding, without the possibility of doubt or cavil, the speech, as it has been reported in the public prints, of the able and respectable person with whom this suggestion appears to have originated, furnishes us with lights abundantly sufficient.

From the report, it is evident in the first place, that according to the then feeling of the Catholic Board, it was considered necessary for them to put into the hands of their parliamentary advocates, the form of a bill completely framed, with all its specifications and provisions.—That the Catholic Board, and not the Lords and Commons now in Parliament assembled, should take into their consideration what species of bill would be likely to satisfy this country. Whilst it would bid fair, at the same time, to reconcile to its provisions the other part of the nation.—That the general sentiments of Ireland, expressed by numerous meetings in the counties and cities, and likewise the proceedings of the last sessions, having been taken into consideration, not by the two houses of Parliament which are now sitting, but by the Catholic Board, it is affirmed as a fundamental proposition, that no specific measures for regulating the discipline of the Catholic Church of Ireland, ought to be proposed in the legislature, or advocated on behalf of the Catholic people of Ireland, without having been previously sanctioned by the approbation of their prelates. And lastly, that no oaths should be propounded in the bill, which should not have received the like sanction of the same previous approbation.

Such being, then, the obvious and declared objects of the communication, to which I am invited as your selected advocate in that house of which I am a member;—and an avowed claim having thus been made by the leaders of the Catholic Board, on the part of that body, to the peculiar right of originating the welcome measure of relief, whenever it shall come to their heavily aggrieved and long-suffering community, as well as that of discussing and arranging all its various and necessary details—leaving a naked affirmative or dissent, as their only remaining sphere of action, to the representatives of the people, and the hereditary counsellors of the crown—on a question, too, of the greatest magnitude and importance, inasmuch as it affects the materials of the frame of the governing power of the state. Being moreover well aware, that I should as little consult the real interests of my Catholic countrymen, as the dignity of that branch of the legislature to which I belong, by becoming a consenting party to the introduction into Parliament of any measure, however professing to be a bill for their full and complete relief, under such circumstances as those. Having resolved all these circumstances in my mind, again and again, with whatever reluctance it is that I differ in opinion upon the present occasion with those, for whose talents and motives—for whose public character and private worth, I entertain the most sincere respect and esteem, I feel myself bound by an imperious sense of duty to others, as well as to my own situation, to decline the communication which has been thus offered to me on the part of the Catholic Board.

With respect to the legitimate claim of his Majesty's Catholic subjects, to a complete and perfect equality in every constitutional power, privilege, and capacity, with the more favoured members of the established Church, twenty years have seen their cause, since any declaration of my political creed has ceased to have been necessary on that important subject, under the tests imposed by the Irish statute of 1793. I was then prepared to have opened for them, even the doors of Parliament itself. It is now too late a period of my public life to retrace my steps. – Securities for Catholic loyalty, I desire none in addition to that bond of that memorable year, which they have so often sealed with their blood, during the various fortunes of a war of unexampled length and pressure. That confidence, which they have so long merited and received from their Protestant fellow subjects, I now demand for them (the nerves and sinews of our common strength) from the governing powers of the state.

But the same liberty of judgment and opinion, for which I have been contending on the part of others, free and unshackled, I must not relinquish for myself, distinguished as I have been in the situation to which you have been pleased to call me, as your parliamentary advocate.—Instructions I will not condescend to receive, for the discharge of that duty which I have undertaken on your behalf—not for the first time, and which I am not conscious of having ever deserted—I have no explanation to offer—no new pledges to give. Dictation, from any quarter, however respectable—pardon the expression, it is due to frankness and sincerity, I mean it not unkindly—I should consider as little degrading to the humble individual who thus addressed himself to your candour, and to your feelings, than admissible, as applied to the grand inquest of the nation, now in Parliament assembled.

I have the honour to be, very kindly, Sir,
Your faithful, humble Servant,
DONOUGHMORE.

Mr. Grattan's Letter, accompanying the above.

SIR, Tinnehinch, 18th Nov. 1813.

I FIND by the public papers, that I have misapprehended the intention of the Catholic Board, in the Resolution you were pleased to communicate: the Resolution ran thus, "That the Chairman be requested to consult with Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan, to ascertain if it be their pleasure, or that of either of them, to receive a communication from the Board, upon the form of a bill for our relief." I apprehended that by the word "consult with us," the Board meant that their worthy Chairman should confer, and I therefore answered that I was ready to see you, to whom at that conference, in the presence of Lord Donoughmore, in whose sentiments on this subject I entirely coincide, it was my intention to have stated my objection at large, to the formation of a bill by the Catholic Board, and I have accompanied my refusal to communicate with the Board on the subject, by expressions of hope that the Board would not resort to such a proceeding. I was perfectly aware that the worthy Chairman had no power to discuss the formation of a bill, and was entirely committed to the question of communication. I dare say that whatever misapprehension took place, was entirely my error, and I am extremely sorry that my mistake should have caused a moment's debate.

It remains for me now not to decline to answer that question which the Catholic Board is pleased to propose to me, regarding a communication with the Board, on the subject of the Resolution. My answer is, that my zeal in the Catholic cause is unextinguishable; that I have a great affection for my fellow-citizens of the Catholic religion; that I have a personal regard for a great number of the individuals that are of the Catholic Board, without the least degree of enmity to any one of them, and that it is in consequence of those sentiments, as well as from a sense of the duty which I owe to Parliament, and particularly to the House of Commons, of which I am member, that I decline a communication with the Catholic Board, on a bill to be formed by them for the legislature, or on any proceeding like a dictation to Parliament.

I make no doubt the Board will not fall into such an error; there are established regular ways by which they can convey all their wishes. I am satisfied they will resort to such, in which they will be most respectable and persuasive.

I have the honour to be, most sincerely,
Your very faithful, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CORK CATHOLIC BOARD.

30th November, 1813.

BARTHOLOMEW FOLEY, Esq. in the Chair.

The Secretary read the correspondence between Anthony O'Connor, Esq. the Chairman at the last Meeting, and Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan.

To the Right Hon. Earl of Donoughmore, &c. Knocklofty, Clonmell.

My Lord, Springmount, 9th Nov. 1813.

I have the honour, as Chairman of a Meeting of the Roman Catholic Board of the county and city of Cork, held this day, to transmit the annexed resolution, requesting your Lordship will have the goodness once more to present the humble petition of the Roman Catholics of that city and county, for a redress of the grievances under which they labour, to that portion of the legisture of which your Lordship forms so bright an ornament.

They at the same time desire me to express to your Lordship, the warm assurances of their unbounded gratitude for those past services, which your Lordship has so ably rendered to them, their unshaken attachment, to so uniformly firm, eloquent, and patriotic a friend as your Lordship has been, in their regard—their confidence in that unbending integrity, which is your Lordship's characteristic, and their high esteem of those talents, which have been so frequently employed in the cause of an injured, patient, and loyal people.

Permit, my Lord, the individual who is the organ of this request and communication, to add, that amongst the thousands who feel those sentiments which he has endeavoured to express, none is more warm in that feeling than he who has the honour to subscribe himself,

Your Lordship's very humble and obedient Servant,
ANTHONY O'CONNOR.

Lord Donoughmore's Answer.

Dear Sir, Knocklofty, 18th Nov. 1813.

May I request of you to express to the very respectable meeting of the Catholics of the city and county of Cork, at which you so worthily presided, the zeal and satisfaction with which I accept the trust, which they are pleased to repose in me, of presenting their petition to the House of Lords. The great kindness to me, as an individual, with which you are pleased to accompany this communication, deserves my most sincere acknowledgments, which I trust you will be good enough to accept.

Yours, dear Sir, very truly,
DONOUGHMORE.

Right Hon. Henry Grattan, &c. &c. Dublin.

SIR, Springmount, 9th Nov. 1813.

I HAVE the honour, as Chairman of a Meeting of the Roman Catholic Board of the city and county of Cork, held this day, to transmit the annexed Resolution, requesting you will have the goodness once more to present to the House of Commons, the humble petition of the Roman Catholics of that city and county, praying for a redress of the grievances under which they labour.

I am further desired to express, that your uniform, zealous, and powerful advocacy of our political rights, has ensured our lasting gratitude, and whilst your past services are indelibly engraven upon our hearts, we feel an instinctive confidence that the patriot of Ireland will labour for the enfranchisement of her sons. You have grown grey in fighting our battles, you have driven bigotry from the fore ground which it had taken; you have pursued it in its flight, you pressed upon the citadel in which it took refuge, and we trust, that it is reserved for you, Sir, by a perseverance in the honest, firm, independent, and energetic advocacy of our rights, to reduce the citadel, and, by exhibiting the standard of religious freedom, where the banner of intolerance had been displayed, to give liberty to millions, strength and permanency to the British constitution, into which we desire admission; and peace, content, and prosperity to our common country.—Feeling the highest sentiment of respect and esteem,

I remain, Sir,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
ANTHONY O'CONNOR.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

SIR, Tinnehinch, 19th Nov. 1813.

I HAD the honour of receiving your letter, with the Resolution of the Catholics of Cork, requesting that I should present their petition to the House of Commons. I shall comply with their request; and I beg to assure you, and them, how sensible I am of the honour they do me, and how much I value their and your approbation, which I shall, with perseverance unabated, endeavour to preserve.

I have the honour to be, with many thanks,
Your faithful, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

Catholic Board, Dublin, 18th December, 1813.

Mr. Mahon stated that he had received Answers to the letters addressed to Lord Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan the fortnight preceding.

Mr. Mahon's Letter.

My Lord, Dublin, 4th December, 1813.

I am requested by the General Board of the Catholics of Ireland, to acknowledge the receipt of a letter from your Lordship, in which you are pleased to concur with Mr. Grattan, in declining to receive any communication from the Board, upon the form of a Bill for our relief. The Board beg leave respectfully to assure your Lordship, that no intention ever existed in the minds of the members of the Board, or of any of them, to dictate to Parliament, or to either House of Parliament; and they deem it a duty which they owe to themselves, as well as to your Lordship, to disclaim all responsibility on account of any reports which may be published in the newspapers relative to their proceedings.

The object which the Board had in soliciting the communication with your Lordship, was certainly of a respectful nature, and tended, as they conceived, to a highly beneficial effect; it naturally grew out of the present posture of affairs, and they deemed it calculated to produce healing and salutary results.

In a discussion so arduous as that of Catholic petitions, it did seem to the Board that their Parliamentary friends, of every class, would have been ready to recognize the utility and even necessity of deriving assistance and suggestions from the petitioners themselves, who are usually presumed to be the most capable of affording suitable information and instructions. In suggesting the principles of a Bill for Catholic freedom, the Board were also actuated by a natural and laudible desire to meet the wishes of a great portion of their fellow-subjects in Great Britain, and even of their opponents, who have repeatedly complained, and still complain that they are yet to learn what is the real extent of the relief sought by the Catholics of Ireland. The want of this knowledge has hitherto caused injurious jealousies and groundless alarms; besides their recommendations to such communication, the Board conceived that it would have produced the good effect of preventing the recurrence of that perplexity and general disappointment, which marked the Parliamentary proceedings of the lower House upon this subject in the late sessions. The Board having thus attempted to discharge the duty which they owe to the Catholic cause, to their Protestant fellow-subjects, and to the legislature, have only to express their regret, that the salutary and substantial objects which they had thus in contemplation, should be for the present frustrated by the rigid operation of the doctrine laid down by your Lordship and Mr. Grattan. Let the Board entertain the hope, that after this frank, candid, and respectful declaration of their views and objects, they shall not have to experience the deep regret which must ensue, if personages, to whom they are so justly and deservedly grateful, as your Lordship and Mr. Grattan, should feel themselves still bound by their notions of Parliamentary propriety, to declare that they cannot condescend to receive any instructions from the Catholics of Ireland, for the discharge of that duty which they have undertaken for the restoration of Catholic freedom. A question, too, as they justly observe, of the greatest possible magnitude and importance.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your most humble Servant,
NICHOLAS MAHON,
Chairman of the Catholic Board, held on 4th December.

The Earl of Donoughmore's Answer.

Sir, Knocklofty, 8th December, 1813.

In the letter which I had the honour of receiving under your signature, by last night's post, three distinct propositions are advanced on the part of the Catholic Board, under the influence of which they appear to consider themselves still bound to persevere in those expectations which were already communicated to my Right Hon. colleague and to myself, and to which we thought it our duty to express, with whatever reluctance, our inability to accede.

To the first of these propositions I answer, with great respect, that I cannot recognize the utility, much less the necessity of receiving instructions from the petitioners themselves, for the direction of my parliamentary conduct, in this advanced period of the discussion; upon a subject which has so repeatedly engaged the attention of both Houses, and in the progress of which I have fought the best battles I could, for the last twenty years, again and again, for the complete removal of all existing disabilities.

With respect to the second ground of argument which has been relied upon, I answer, that in the mere circumstance of the preparation of a Bill, by one or more distinguished members of the Catholic Board, in exclusion of their Parliamentary advocates, to whom has been reserved according to the accustomed mode of proceeding in all other similar cases, the province of effectuating by suitable provisions, the principles and the details of their own measures, I cannot discover that healing quality, that powerful agency, which appeared to have been attributed to it, which are to gratify and to enlighten their fellow subjects in Great Britain, and to remove even from the minds of their opponents themselves, all injurious jealousies and groundless alarms.

Still less am I enabled to acquiesce in the soundness of that reasoning, which would establish the necessity of an intermediate deliberative body, between the Catholics of Ireland and the two Houses of Parliament; to avoid, as the Catholic Board is pleased to express itself in the document to which I am now endeavouring to reply, that perplexity and general disappointment, which are therein stated to have marked the proceedings of the Lower House, during the last session.

An acquiescence in such a doctrine as this, would seem to sanction that (than which nothing can be, in my mind, more unconstitutional,) the notion of a representation of the Catholic community, separate and distinct from that of the Protestant part of the state; whereas it is to the Lower House of Parliament, as representing his Majesty's subjects, of all descriptions and religious persuasions, and to the Hereditary Counsellors of the Crown, that all deliberative powers are confided by the constitution of these realms, to whom it accordingly belongs, exclusively, to regulate and adjust all those details which will become necessary, whenever the wisdom and justice of Parliament shall incorporate, into one compact mass of loyalty and good citizenship, the subjects of the same Sovereign, the inheritors of the same rights, capacities, and privileges.

Your authorized disclaimer of the authenticity of those reports, which have been, notwithstanding, so widely circulated as the proceedings of the Catholic Board, necessarily closes that subject against all further observations on my part. May I not, however, be permitted to express my regret, that the same great consideration for the feelings of those, who were not themselves present to repel aggression, (which then, as at all times, marked the conduct of that distinguished member *, the energies of whose talent and mind, entitle him to so great a lead in any popular assembly,) had not repressed some observations in the late debate, or rather the publication of them, as they must necessarily contain gross misconceptions of what is supposed to have fallen from the person into whose mouth they have been put; inasmuch as they are, so far as they affect to allude to me, not less unjustifiable in the insinuations they would seem to convey, than unfounded in fact? I am not a cold composer of libels, or fabricator of injurious suggestions, against any man or number of men. My former reply to the Catholic Board, was the creation of that day, at the close of which it was dispatched through my Right Hon. friend. To state it in any other point of view, or to attribute to it any political motive of any sort or kind, would be a cruel misrepresentation of the conduct and the feelings of as old and as true a friend of the cause of my Catholic countrymen, as any other now in existence; and such a calumny as this would pass through the lips of any member of that community with a particularly bad grace. If such, is then, the sort of authority which we are to ascribe from henceforth to the detailed proceedings of the Catholic Board, to what, let me ask, does the publication of those proceedings tend, but to lead astray the public mind; to lower and degrade, as far as in them lies, the motives and the conduct of all those who dare to think for themselves; and to disseminate amongst a warm, a jealous, and an irritable population, error and misrepresentation, in place of sound reasoning, temperance, and truth?

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* Mr. O'Connell.

If however, it is not true, that any Bill was ever prepared, as the specific measure for the removal of religious disabilities, and to be presented as such to your Parliamentary advocates. If the communication to which I have been invited was not to be considered in the nature of an instruction, according to which I should be expected to regulate my conduct in Parliament, there no longer exists any difference of opinion, thus far between myself and any member of the Catholic Board; their sentiments, or those of any individual or body of men, of whatever religious persuasion, I shall always feel it my duty to receive, with all due attention and respect, upon all questions of a public nature; more especially upon a subject, of which I am fully aware of the great magnitude and importance, and which, on that account, demands in a peculiar degree the deliberate, uncontrolled consideration of the High Court of Parliament, wherein alone, the principle and the details of so so grave a measure can be suitably discussed, and temperately arranged.

I have the honour to be, with much truth, Sir,
Your faithful, humble Servant,
DONOUGHMORE.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Sir, Tinnehinch, 16th, Dec. 1813.

I was honoured by your letter written by order of the Catholic Board, and I beg to return you my thanks for the politeness of your communication.

I beg also to remind the Catholic Board, that the first Resolution transmitted to me, was a proposal for a communication from the Board, on the form of a Bill to be presented to Parliament for their relief; and that I declined that communication, conceiving that the forming a Bill was the exclusive province of Parliament.

I have been honoured with a second letter, in which the Board is pleased to mention the benefits by them expected to have arisen from such their communication; and among other benefits they observe, that it would have made known to their enemies, the real extent of the relief sought for by the Catholics. Without doubting in any degree the propriety of such an object, may I be permitted to observe, that no Bill, or principles of a Bill, formed by the Board, could authenticate what is the real extent of the relief sought by the Catholics? I do perfectly agree that the Catholics are entirely competent to set forth their grievances and their relief, but they have done so already by repeated Petitions, in which they speak with authenticity to their representatives, the House of Commons. I do acknowledge and applaud the wisdom of the idea which the Board is pleased to express on the subject of healing measures, and I do second, most cordially, the wish they express, to remove injurious jealousies and groundless alarms; but I must be permitted to add, that those jealousies and alarms can only be removed by a spirit of accommodation, and by such steps as may unite the Irish and the English Catholics, and may harmonize the

Irish Catholics with one another; and I do not hesitate to say, that without a spirit of accommodation and conciliation the Catholics will never succeed.

The Board is pleased to say that it has attempted to do its duty to the Catholic cause, to their Protestant brethren, and to the legislature; permit me to add, that when the Board shall have adopted the spirit of accommodation and conciliation, *then, and not till then,* can the Board proclaim that it has endeavoured to do its duty.

I lament exceedingly the disappointment which attended the proceedings of the last Session, but I must observe that that disappointment did not arise from the want of a Bill formed by the Catholic Board.

The Board is pleased to say that is has made a candid and respectful avowal of their views; I acknowledge the avowal to be both candid and respectful. They will permit me to make a candid and respectful avowal of mine; they are the complete emancipation of my Roman Catholic fellow subjects, without injury to their church or their religion; the perpetuation of the Protestant succession to the crown, and the preservation of the Protestant church. These are the sentiments in which I support the Catholic petition, and in these I am sure I have the concurrence of the Catholics. Sorry should I be to obstruct, for a moment, any happy results which the Board, or any other body, may conceive they can produce for the promotion of any of these great objects; and I therefore take this opportunity to declare, that I am ready to receive any suggestion on the subject from the Catholic Board, or any other description of my fellow citizens, concurring with my noble friend Lord Donoughmore, in objecting to any communication from the Board in the form of a bill, or with the authority of instructions.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With respect and sincerity,
Your very faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CATHOLIC BOARD.

2d June.

THERE was a special Meeting of the Board held to take into consideration the recent communications which had been received from Mr. GRATTAN and Earl DONOUGHMORE.

EDW. COX, Esq. of Clara House, Queen's County, chairman.

Mr. O'Connell proposed Lord Donoughmore be again solicited to bring on an immediate discussion in the upper House, and that the letter of Mr. GRATTAN be submitted to an aggregate meeting.

Mr. O'Gorman thought the Board should, without referring to any other authority, come to a direct vote, again recommending an immediate discussion.

Mr. O'Connel was for an aggregate assembly.

Mr. Mahon thought that the Board was thrown into a most unpleasant predicament, and that it would be wise to take the advice of those from whom they derived their authority.

Mr. Howly cautioned the meeting against precipitation, and deprecated above all things any mark of disrespect to a man who was the pride, the consolation, and the hope of his country, for thirty years before the very names of many of those, who are latterly so flippant in censuring his acts, were known to the public.

After much discussion to this effect, the natural good sense and penetration of Mr. Costigan surprised some of those who preceded him, by showing them that they were as yet ignorant of the tendency of Mr. GRATTAN's letter, or even of that which was transmitted to the Right Honourable Gentleman. Having read both those documents, he clearly proved that there was a discretion allowed to Mr. GRATTAN, and that his letter went only to say that he would avail himself of it.

Mr. O'Connell did confess that the letter had one unhappy phrase: "As soon as circumstances will warrant." He further acknowledged that he himself was the author of it.

Dr. Dromgoole thought that there was much propriety in what fell from Mr. Costigan. Mr. GRATTAN's letter was certainly no more than an echo of the one which had been written to him. He was persuaded that nothing decisive should be adopted, without communicating with Mr. G. He was, however, at the same time firmly of opinion, that the petition should be entrusted to other hands, if Mr. GRATTAN did not chuse to move upon it.

Mr. Lynch expatiated at considerable length on the point suggested by Mr. Costigan.

After much debate, Mr. O'Gorman offered the following resolution to the consideration of the meeting, stating that it was framed to embrace the objects of all parties; to express the sense of the Board in the first place, that a discussion should be had before the close of the present sessions; secondly, to leave Mr. GRATTAN an opportunity of stating whether he did not act under an impression of being furnished with full powers to obey the dictates of his own discretion; and, thirdly, to avoid all possibility of giving the Right Honourable Gentleman the slightest offence: —

RESOLVED, That the Roman Catholics of Ireland, having repeatedly promulgated their decided opinion, upon the necessity of bringing the discussion of their petitions under the consideration of the legislature until their final and unqualified emancipation shall be effected, we feel ourselves bound to reiterate our earnest request to the Earl of DONOUGHMORE and the Right Honourable HENRY GRATTAN, that they will exert their great talents in procuring and urging such discussion as speedily as possible during the present session.

A member proposed the following addition to the above:—

That our chairman be requested to enclose the forgoing resolution to the Noble Lord, and the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN.

Those resolutions having passed unanimously, Mr. O'Connell moved the following, with a view, of course, of acting upon his original proposition if Mr. Grattan should not accede to the wishes of the Board :—

That an aggregate meeting of the Catholics of Ireland be held on Saturday, the 11th day of June, to take into consideration the petition voted at a former aggregate meeting.*

LORD FRENCH'S LETTER

To the Earl of Donoughmore and Mr. Grattan.

My Lord, and Sir, 14th May, 1814.

I have been requested by a note of the General Board of the Catholics of Ireland, as the chairman, to communicate to you their anxious desire to have the Catholic petitions presented to Parliament on as early a day as possible, so that a discussion may take place on the great question of emancipation, as soon as existing circumstances will warrant.

I have the honour to be,
My Lord, and Sir,
Your obedient humble Servant,
FRENCH.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

My Lord, London, 21st May, 1814.

I had the honour to receive your Lordship's letter, communicating, by vote of the Catholic Board, their anxious desire to have the Catholic petition presented on as early a day as possible, so that a discussion may take place on the great question of their emancipation, as soon as existing circumstances will warrant.

In answer to which I beg to say, that I shall present the petition immediately, and I shall be happy to bring on a discussion whenever existing circumstances appear to me warrant such a step; but, at present, any proceedings beyond the presentation of the petition would be, in my opinion, an injury to the Catholic cause.

I found this opinion on a view of the present circumstances, and after consulting the friends of the Catholics in the House of Commons.

I have the honour to be,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Earl of Donoughmore's Answer.

4, Bulstrode Street, Manchester Square,
25th May, 1814.

My Lord,

My recent arrival in town, and the necessity which I felt of some previous communication with the principal parliamentary friends of that cause, for the success of which we are all interested alike, has prevented me from being enabled to reply so early as I could have wished to the communication which I had the honour of receiving from your Lordship, in the name of the Catholic Board. But I must still request some forther indulgence from you upon that subject. It is particularly necessary that I should at once guard the Board against the extraordinary misrepresentations which have appeared in some of the morning papers of this day, of a part of what Mr. Grattan said in the House of Commons yesterday, on presenting some of those petitions from Ireland which had been committed to him.

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* On the 3d of June, 1814, the Lord-Lieutenant (Whitworth), and the Privy Council, issued a Proclamation suppressing the Catholic Board.

He is by these papers made to express himself as if my opinion coincided entirely with him on the expediency of not agitating at present the Catholic question. Whatever my sentiments may be upon that subject, it would be highly unbecoming in me, if I had not myself made the first communication of them to your Lordship, as the organ of the Catholic Board.

Immediately, therefore, upon seeing these statements of which my Right Honourable Friend could never have said, I wrote him a few lines to say such was my firm persuasion, and the note which I now enclose was his prompt and candid reply.

I have been most anxious to endeavour, if possible, to catch the post of this evening, to prevent any premature impression upon the mind of the Catholic Board, as to my opinions in relation to the discussion of this question at present, of which they have certainly a right to receive the first intimation from myself.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's obedient humble Servant,
DONOUGHMORE.

LETTER FROM THE EARL OF DONOUGHMORE TO EDWARD HAY, Esq.

Bulstrode Street, Manchester Square,
28th May, 1814.

Dear Sir,

Whether it is my good fortune to agree or to differ, with whatever regret, from those who conduct the proceedings of the Catholic Board, it is always my wish not to be unfairly stated to them. To do away the effect of such a representation, I caused the paragraph, of which I enclose you a copy, to be inserted in The Globe of this evening, and made some attempt at the office of The Courier, as another evening paper of great circulation, but there I was too late.

I send it to you for the purpose of guarding me against those misrepresentations to which I should otherwise be subject, and that you may cause it to be inserted in those of the Dublin papers, which are the most authentic organs of the Catholic concerns.

Yours, dear Sir, very truly,
DONOUGHMORE.

Mr. Grattan's Note enclosed in the foregoing.

My dear Lord,

I took care to avoid any expresssion yesterday that could include you.

The Chronicle, which is the only paper which I saw, says, "that a member of Parliament;" it should have said *what I said,* "this House." I wrote this day to Ireland to have the paragraph so amended.

Such was my letter to Lord French, excluding the peers. I shall have an opportunity on Friday of setting any error to right.

Most truly yours,
HENRY GRATTAN.

CORK ROMAN CATHOLICS.*

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir, Cork, 27th August, 1814.

As chairman of the aggregate meeting of the Catholics of the county and city of Cork, held yesterday, it is my duty to transmit to you the enclosed resolutions, unanimously adopted by that assembly, and founded, I am certain, upon the anxious wish of the Catholics, that by communicating with you they may be able, from time to time (whilst they could disclaim any idea of dictation), to point out to your consideration facts which might have escaped the observation of even our warmest friend, though he should have made our grievances his particular study.

I am, Sir, very desirous to discharge this duty, in a manner best suited to express the high respect and consideration in which you are held by the Catholics of this county and city, sentiments in which, I beg leave to add, no person can more cordially participate than, Sir,

Your most obedient very humble Servant,
CHARLES SUGRUE.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Sir, Tinnehinch, 4th Sept., 1814.

I was favoured with your letter, enclosing resolutions of the Catholics of the city and county of Cork.

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, with sincere thanks for the polite and handsome manner of your communication; and I shall, in a short time, return you my answer, and before the meeting intended shall take place.

I am, Sir, with much sincerity,
Your very faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose my answer, with the assurance of my esteem for you, and an unalterable attachment to the cause of the Catholics.

I am,
Your very faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

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* In the Session of 1814, Mr. Grattan presented a Petition from the Roman Catholics, but did not bring forward any discussion on the question.

To the Roman Catholics of the County and City of Cork, assembled 26th August, 1814.

GENTLEMEN, 14th September, 1814.

I WAS favoured with your resolution, that Mr. GRATTAN be entrusted with the presentation of our petition, in case he shall agree to receive and pay attention to the instructions of the petitioners, or their accredited organ.

To which I answer, *I beg to decline the honour of presenting your petition on the proposed stipulation.*

I have been always ready to receive the information of my fellow-subjects with every attention to their right of free communication, and to my right of free judgment; but I shall make no stipulation on this head; a proceeding new and extraordinary, and of a tendency to create a supposition, that I could submit my conduct to the direction of any organ, accredited or otherwise, or of any description of persons whatever.

With unalterable attachment to your cause,
I have the honour to be,
Your very faithful, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

RESOLVED, That the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN having, in his reply to the Chairman of our late Meeting, declared his "readiness to receive the information of his fellow subjects, with every attention to their right of free communication, and to his right of free judgment;"—(which embraces the full extent of our desires,) be again confidently intrusted with the presentation of our petition to the House of Commons.

AGGREGATE MEETING of the ROMAN CATHOLICS, DUBLIN, 16th February, 1815.

OWEN O'CONOR, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. O'CONOR said, that in consequence of the resolution to that effect, passed at the last aggregate meeting, he had solicited an answer from Lord DONOUGHMORE and Mr. GRATTAN, to the question accompanying the petition of the Catholics of Ireland. As he was aware of the anxiety which the people felt on this head, he begged leave to read the letters which passed between him and Lord DONOUGHMORE and Mr. GRATTAN. His letter to Lord DONOUGHMORE was as follows:

MY LORD, Moira Hotel, 25th Jan. 1815.

I HAVE the honour of inclosing a resolution, which passed unanimously at an aggregate meeting of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, held in Clarendon-street Chapel.

I am extremely happy to inform your Lordship, that the resolution passed unanimously on Monday last, at a meeting of the committee, appointed to prepare petitions and resolutions to be submitted to the aggregate meeting.

I had the honour of receiving a letter from your Lordship, after I had the honour of being called to the chair.* It was read for the meeting, and received with that deference, so justly due to every communication from your Lordship.

I hope that the account of the proceedings to which your Lordship alluded, has been mis-stated or exaggerated, as I am persuaded that no meeting of Catholics would entertain any other sentiments for your Lordship, than those of the highest respect.

Allow me to assure your Lordship, that I sincerely participate with my Catholic countrymen, in regretting that your Lordship should deem it necessary to write that letter.

I trust, however, that your Lordship may be induced, by the unanimous request of yesterday's meeting, to resume the administration of our affairs, and present our petition to Parliament in this session. Our solicitude for your Lordship's undertaking its management, will, I hope, assure your Lordship of our conviction, that no one would advocate it with more zeal, or promote it by more ability than your Lordship; and that our entrusting it to your care will convince you at once of our confidence and gratitude.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble Servant,
OWEN O'CONOR.

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* The following was the letter alluded to.

Dear Sir, Knocklofty, 21st January, 1815.

It appearing from the reports in the last Dublin Papers, of some late proceedings in the Catholic Committee, that it is to be made a matter of debate at the Aggregate Meeting on Tuesday next, whether I am to be again entrusted with the care of their petitions; I have great satisfaction in availing myself of the opportunity which is thus afforded to me, and for which I anxiously sought for a considerable time past, of *withdrawing myself altogether from any share or responsibility in the future management* of their appeals to Parliament,

I cannot submit to the degradation of becoming the *parliamentary automaton of any man, or any number of men, however respectable the denomination which they assume*; nor of subjecting myself again to the other side of the alternative, and to the necessity of continually standing in my defence against misrepresentation and calumny, where I could have had no possible object but a sincere and ardent desire to deserve well of that important class of my fellow-subjects — for whose complete admission into every constitutional privilege, unrestricted by any jealous reserve, unincumbered by any degrading stipulations, I have never ceased to raise my feeble voice.

As I think it questionable, from the proceedings of the late Catholic Committee, as they have been reported in the public papers, whether Lord Fingall may consider it to be fitting for him to preside at the Aggregate Meeting on Tuesday next, I have not addressed this letter to his Lordship, but to yourself, with my request, that you will have the goodness to hand it to the Chairman, whoever he may be, as a public paper, before the commencement of the proceedings of the day.

I always remain,
Yours, my dear Sir, with much regard, and very truly,
DONOUGHMORE.

To Edward Hay, Esq.

The following was the Resolution:

Resolved, That the Earl of Donoughmore be requested to present our petition to the House of Lords, and that he be respectfully informed, that we deem it of vital importance to the honour and interests of the Catholics of Ireland, that the merits of their claims should be discussed in the House of Lords, at as early a period in the present session as possible. And also, that this information is given him in order that he may *decline presenting our petition, should he differ with us in opinion with respect to such discussion.*

To this his Lordship returned the following answer:

To Owen O'Conor, Esq.

Dear Sir, Knocklofty, 30th Jan. 1815.

In acknowledging the unanimous resolution of the late Aggregate Catholic Meeting, which you have done me the honour to communicate to me, and to which I beg leave to apprize you, that I have just now transmitted my answer to Mr. Edward Hay, to be by him handed to the Chairman of the adjourned meeting, on the 15th day of February next; permit me to say, how thankfully I receive those expressions of regard and confidence with which you have been so good to accompany your communication, and how ambitious I shall be, at all times, to continue to preserve your good opinion and esteem.

Yours, dear Sir,
Very faithfully,
DONOUGHMORE.

A similar Resolution was communicated to Mr. Grattan.

To the Chairman of the adjourned Aggregate Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland, appointed for Wednesday, 15th Feb. next.

Sir, Knocklofty, 30th Jan. 1815.

Being satisfied that without the intentional abandonment of what you owe to your countrymen of all religious persuasions, as well as to yourselves, the present session should not be suffered to pass away without a full discussion of your manifold grievances, and legitimate claims upon the justice of Parliament, and *no endeavour having been made to limit or direct the free exercise of my own judgment and discretion, as to what propositions I may think it expedient to submit* to that House of which I am a member, or in which to acquiesce on your behalf, I can have no hesitation *in accepting this last unequivocal proof of your renewed confidence*, and by which I cannot too strongly express how truly I feel gratified and distinguished.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your faithful humble Servant,
DONOUGHMORE.

Mr. O'Conor then said, he had written a letter to Mr. Grattan, to the same effect as that to Lord Donoughmore, to which he received an answer, stating, that he (Mr. Grattan) would cause to be transmitted to him, a full exposition of his sentiments, and answer to the question proposed. He said, that at a late hour last night, a letter reached him from Mr. Grattan, which he would now read to the meeting.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Gentlemen, Dublin, 15th Feb. 1815.

I was favoured with a Resolution from the Roman Catholic Aggregate Meeting, held on the 25th of January, in Dublin, requesting that I should present their petition to Parliament; but if I did not agree with them in opinion, that the merits of the Catholic claims should be discussed this session of Parliament, at as early a period as possible, that I should decline presenting the same.

In answer to which I beg to observe, that it is impossible for me to make a previous declaration of my opinion, as the stipulation for the honour of presenting your petition to Parliament.

My attachment to the claims of the Catholics is known—my constancy on that subject is unquestionable.

Should you give me your petition, I shall most willingly present it. Should you entrust it to another, my struggles and my perseverance for the claims of the Roman Catholics shall never, on that account, be diminished. *My zeal in their cause shall remain unabated.*

Gentlemen, I have the honour to be,
Your very faithful, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.*

ROSCOMMON ROMAN CATHOLICS.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

The undersigned Roman Catholics of the County of Roscommon, deeply impressed with a just sense of your public conduct, beg leave to offer you the expression of their gratitude.

Were your countrymen to estimate your merits, by the services you performed, the difficulties you encountered, the abilities you displayed, and the perseverance and fortitude you evinced, their gratitude should be unbounded.

Had you been the deliverer of a free nation, whose liberties had been cloven down by sudden violence, you would have deserved to rank amongst the best benefactors of mankind; but you had a task far more difficult to perform—to emancipate a nation long enslaved, to rouse the torpid, to animate the spiritless, to infuse sensibility into habitual slavery, and patriotism into colonial subserviency.

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* In consequence of this letter the Catholic Petition was entrusted to Sir Henry Parnell.

The free constitution you obtained, you sought to enlarge and perpetuate, by admitting the Catholics within its pale. Factious men, enemies to your fame, and enemies to repose, thwarted your plans, maligned your motives, and slandered your reputation.

The wisdom of your counsels, and the experience of their fatal rejection, are not lost upon us. After displaying the most consummate prudence in the management, and the most sublime eloquence in the advocacy of our cause, after awakening dormant liberality, dissipating obstinate prejudices, and silencing inveterate hostility, you found moderation, on our part, necessary to the ultimate success of your efforts; you have, therefore, in the spirit of conciliation, recommended it to our body. We embrace with ardour the paternal advice of the father of his country. You have found opposition where you ought to have met with co-operation; you have experienced slight, where you ought to have enjoyed the overflowings of gratitude. Were we not acquainted with the magnanimity of your character, we should despair of your friendship. We know your generosity—we rely on your zeal—and trust, that your exertions will be gratified with the reward you value most—the emancipation of your Catholic countrymen, and the peace and harmony of your native land.

John Ferrall, *Bloomfield.*
Bernard Fallon, *Runnemede.*
Daniel Ferrall, *Beechwood.*
William Kelly, *Turruck.*
Francis O'Beirne, *James-town.*
Christopher French, *French-lawn.*
Edward Irvine, *Leabeg.*
Thomas O'Conor, *Arne.*
Matthew O'Conor, *Mount-Druid.*
Patrick Brown, *Clonfad.*
William Walsh, *Mount Hussy.*
James Coyne, *Summerville.*
Daniel Keogh, *Leghill.*
Barth. Ferrall, *Greenhill.*
Patrick O'Sullivan, *Cottage.*
James O'Sullivan, *Lodge.*
Daniel Cruise, *Camla.*
Michael Flinn, *Kilternan.*
Owen T. Reynolds, *Fera.*
Richard Keogh, *Leghill.*
Michael Balfe, *Southpark.*
George Taaffe, *Ballinacurnly.*
Matthew Conry, *Bush-hill.*
John Balfe, *Clonalis.*
Richard Irvine, *Rathmile.*
John Irvine, *Farmhall.*
Martin Brown, *Clonfad.*
Morgan T. M'Donogh, *Carrick.*
Edward French, *Bela.*
Edmond French, *Ditto.*
John Flanagan, *Cloghan.*
Francis Flanagan, *Ditto.*
Patrick Brown, *Croghan.*
William Murphy, *Mullen.*
Francis Lynch, *Lowberry.*
Christopher Irvine, *Leabeg.*
Hugh M'Ternan, *Mount Allen.*
Thomas Dillon, *Clooniborne.*
Charles Ward, *Tineancouve.*

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN, Tinnehinch, 3d April, 1816.

READING your names, it would be affectation in me to deny that I am proud of your approbation.

Were I to return you suitable thanks, the vocabulary would be exhausted; but my regard and attachment would remain undiminished.

I have no reason to complain of the Catholics, least of all have I any justification to lessen my zeal in their favour.

Your cause is the cause of the empire;—the general concern, the peculiar interest of my countrymen, and of that part especially that suffers by the penal code, my duty, and my affection, command my feeble efforts in your service.

I approve of your spirit of conciliation, and I hope that time will remove those difficulties that stand in the way of your emancipation —such difficulties must soon give way, and common sense will be found the best judge of common interest.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
With the greatest respect and regard,
Your most obedient, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

DUBLIN WINDOW TAX.

ST. BRIDGET'S PARISH.

15th October, 1816.

THE Committee appointed to manage the petition of this parish, on the subject of the window tax, had an interview with Messrs. Shaw, Grattan, Plunkett, and Talbot, at the house of the first Gentleman, in Merrion-square. The petition was duly delivered, and one of the committee made the wishes of the parish, in regard to it, known in the following terms:—

To Henry Grattan, Esq.

SIR,

WE, the committee appointed by the householders of St. Bridget's parish, wait on you with their petition, praying a repeal of the window light tax; and request you to present it to Parliament in its next session.

Gentlemen, our petition simply asks a repeal of this cess: first, on the faith of promise made us by the late Right Honourable Isaac Corry, in 1800, since which period, now seventeen years, it has been progressively increased; secondly, we ask relief on the ground of its being indispensable; we have no trade—our manufacturers are ruined—a great portion of our fellow-citizens are in a state of bankruptcy—our artizans and labourers without employment—our city, with the exception of a few of those monuments of our former greatness, falling to ruin—our country struck from the list of nations—our taxation oppressive—our poverty most notorious; and need I give a stronger proof of it, than that unprecedented act of his Majesty's commissioners of excise, directing their collectors to receive this tax by instalments? We are aware of a clause in this act, provided that houses let in detached tenements, at the rate of *5l.* annually, shall be exempt from this tax; but that gives no relief; there is no rent so low. This amounts to 3¼*d.* per night, and the lowest that I can ascertain to be paid for the very worst species of accommodation is *5d.* The parish to which we belong, situated in the very heart of this metropolis, and part of the castle in it, contains somewhat about six hundred houses, fifty of which are uninhabited, through the just apprehension, that tenants venturing their property into them, should fall a prey to this excessive taxation. — There are fifty-seven more, the proprietors of which are declared by the Churchwardens, in their account, insolvent, and unable to pay even the parish taxes — and how, in the name of Heaven, are they to pay this still more oppressive cess? About twenty more are in ruins, and the proprietors of the residue now declare their state little short of beggary. This is the first remonstrance we have ever offered against taxation; and were it not for the waste of the public money, that is committed in so many various modes, but especially in upholding an immense standing army, in a time of universal peace, and maintaining such an extravagant number of sinecurists, which so materially interfere with the constitutional representation of the people, we should scarcely even now complain.

Gentlemen, from these exactions, we, your unfortunate fellow-citizens and countrymen, do most earnestly supplicate your exertions to be relieved. A substitute, it is said, must be had instead of this tax, if it be repealed; and might I take the liberty to offer a few suggestions on that subject? Let me call to your recollection, that there is a class of subjects denominated loan-holders, whose income has suffered no diminution whatever, while that of almost every other has. Were one per cent. deducted off the interest of the national debt, that alone would place to our account 11,000,000*l.* annually. Strike off the useless sinecurists, and that will save 1,500,000*l.* Reduce the army to a proper peace establishment, and I think that there will be an equivalent substitute for the tax in question.

Another suggestion, however extravagant it may appear, a zeal for the welfare of my country induces me to mention. Were his Majesty pleased to call an occasional Parliament in this country, it would not only serve the nation at large, but enable us the better to make our grievances known, and the more easily to have them redressed. Such a line of conduct is not unprecedented: the Tartar Emperor of China, did so by Pekin and Nankin — the Emperor of Russia did so by St. Petersburgh and Moscow — and his Majesty the King of the Netherlands is about to act so by Amsterdam and Brussels — and why not his Majesty of Britain do the same by this city and London?

Mr. GRATTAN, can my words add vigour to the virtuous energy which has ever inspired the heart of the veteran patriot, who so heroically arrayed *himself* against the phalanx of infamy, that sold the country of which he is the parent and the founder? Surely you will not deny that country's orphan children your inestimable support.

Mr. Grattan's Answer to the foregoing Address.

SIR,

THIS unexpected Address I acknowledge I was quite unprepared to meet, and declare myself unable to answer. The fire of genius, Sir, is more adapted to youth than old age. The long connexion existing between me and the city of Dublin, is of such a nature, that whatever is their wish must be mine, and that connexion shall exist while my life lasts. I feel most peculiarly gratified at being called upon by you, and let me give you my positive assurance that I will, as far as my strength and ability will permit, give your petition my most ardent support.

Mr. Grattan's Answer to the Committee.

GENTLEMEN, 29th Oct. 1816.

To the honour of receiving your address, I beg to say that I have a very deep sense of the public distress, and of yours in particular. The present difficulties will, I make no doubt, be met by economy and reduction on the part of the Ministers, and by fortitude and good sense on the part of the people. I should be criminal were I to suggest to you the expectation of what I am sure you do not look for, the abolition, at the present moment, of any of the capital resources of the state. But every thing which is practical, and can avail to your relief, on the subject of your petition, commands, and shall have my entire support.

I am your obedient and very humble Servant,
HENRY RAGTTAN.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan, &c. &c.

DEAR SIR, Lennon's Hotel, Sackville-street, 5th Feb. 1817.

I HAVE the honour of inclosing to you the copy of a Resolution adopted by a Meeting convened by public advertisement, and held yesterday, of the Catholics who had signed a petition transmitted to you last year by Lord Trimbleston. You will perceive, by this Resolution, that the Meeting, adhering to the principles contained in the petition referred to, are desirous that you would be pleased to ground a motion on the prayer of it, on as early a day as you may think proper in the present session of Parliament. Allow me, in their name, to request of you a compliance with their wishes, and to state that I shall feel gratified, as their Chairman, by receiving a communication of your intentions on the subject.

I have the honour to be, dear Sir,
Your most obedient Servant,
SOUTHWELL.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

MY DEAR LORD, Tinnehinch, 7th Feb. 1817.

I HAD the honour of receiving your Lordship's letter, together with the Resolution of a Meeting of Catholics, held on the 4th of this month, expressing a wish that I should move on their petition, presented the last session of Parliament. In answer to which, I beg that your Lordship will return my thanks to the Meeting for the continuation of their confidence; and assure them, that I shall move upon their petition at an early day this session of Parliament.

Please to add, that I am, with much respect, their very faithful humble Servant,

HENRY GRATTAN.

THE CATHOLIC COMMITTEE.

Sir THOMAS ESMONDE, Bart., in the Chair.

THE Chairman informed the Committee, that he had received answers from Mr. GRATTAN and Sir HENRY PARNELL, which he would lay before them.

The letters of Mr. GRATTAN and Sir HENRY PARNELL were then read. The following were the letters addressed to those gentlemen:—

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

SIR, Dublin, 4, Capel-street, 26th Feb. 1817.

DEEPLY impressed with the benefit which any cause must derive from the weight of *your character and talents*, we, the general committee of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, respectfully request that you will *support our petition* to that branch of the legislature of which you are a member.

It prays for a repeal of the penal statutes which aggrieve us, and expresses our readiness to remove the fears of our Protestant countrymen, however unfounded, respecting foreign influence, by any mode of *domestic nomination* which the proper authority of our Church can carry into effect. It also states our unalterable opinion, that any interference, direct or indirect, of the Crown or its servants, in the appointment of our clergy, must prove highly detrimental to their purity; *and that we should prefer never to be emancipated, to obtaining emancipation upon this condition.*

We hope that, having thus admitted the principle of concession, and offered solid and substantial securities, you will not deem it incompatible with your public duty to advocate our cause upon the only terms on which we wish it to succeed; and that you will exert your talents and influence to *prevent any Act from being forced upon us, which shall be founded upon any thing in the nature of a veto.*

We trust you will not consider us guilty of disrespect to the legislature, when we say, that if, in its wisdom, it shall *deem it impossible to alter our condition without a veto, we should be much more satisfied at being left as we are.* We have objections to that measure, springing from religious feelings that never can be surmounted, which should be respectable even to those by whom they are thought erroneous.

These our sentiments have also been corroborated and confirmed by the solemn decision of our prelates, duly convened in synod, and expressed in Resolutions, of which we take the liberty to inclose you a copy.

Having already placed our petition in the hands of Sir Henry Parnell, we should consider it an addition to the numerous obligations by which we are bound to you, if you were pleased to give him the benefit of your advice and co-operation, and concert with him the means most likely to attain our object.

Signed by Order,
THOMAS ESMONDE, Chairman.

To Sir H. Parnell, Bart.

SIR,

BEING informed by extracts from your letter to Mr. Scully, that you did not think it advisable that you should move upon the general merits of our petition, we beg leave to submit to you our respectful opinion, that there is nothing in *the reasons or facts you have stated, which should change* your original intention of making such a motion, it being our earnest wish that the objects you have so wisely planned should be carried into effect as speedily as possible.

Having transmitted a letter to Mr. GRATTAN, of which we inclose you a copy, and which we sincerely hope will secure *you his co-operation in your efforts for our relief, we respectfully request that you will hold such communication* with him upon this subject, as may, in your judgment, be most calculated to attain our object.

We gladly avail ourselves of this occasion to express to you the deep sense of respectful gratitude entertained towards you by the Catholics of Ireland, for your zealous, intelligent, and most useful exertions.

Signed by order,
THOS. ESMONDE, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

SIR, Tinnehinch, 2nd March, 1817.

I ENTIRELY concur with the committee in the opinion they entertain of Sir HENRY PARNELL; and I am happy to learn that they mean to continue to such a valuable person the custody of their petition. I shall be ever ready to hold communication with him whenever he pleases to do me that honour; and I shall be very happy to support your application for emancipation; but must decline the function of being the advocate of any opinion which would import my concurrence in the idea, *that perpetual exclusion from the Constitution is preferable to civil liberty with the veto.*

I am, with the best wishes to the Catholic body and their cause,
Your very faithful and obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

P. S.—I did not get your letter till Saturday morning in the country, which I answered yesterday, and brought to town with me to-day.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir, 4, Capel-street, 8th March, 1817.

I have the honour to inclose you the Resolutions of the Catholics of Ireland, determined on at their Aggregate Meeting, held on the 6th instant.

The Catholics of Ireland, Sir, know and appreciate your exertions, both in their cause in particular, and in the cause of their country in general. They with gratitude remember you as the great advocate of their present political liberty; and, with the rest of our countrymen, remember the period of 1782, and revere you as the successful assertor of their country's rights.

Impressed, therefore, with the deepest gratitude for these many services, I beg leave most respectfully to submit to you the dread the Irish Catholic people entertain of the veto, and their decided preference to remain as they are, to obtaining their emancipation, if connected with that measure. It is neither passion nor prejudice which fixes them to this opinion; but the conscientious conviction that it might ultimately injure the religion they profess, without giving any additional security to the state against foreign influence, which domestic nomination is so amply calculated to effect.

Such being their decided sentiments, they fondly trust to have the good fortune of your powerful advocacy; and that opinions arising from principle may be respected, particularly by you, Sir, whose long and tried services in their cause, and that of their country, (pardon the repetition), prompt all to place every confidence in a name so interwoven with the best interests of your country.

I have the honour to be, with great respect,
Your obedient humble Servant,
THOMAS ESMONDE.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Sir, Tinnehinch, 11th March, 1817.

I was favoured with your letter, and the Resolutions it contained: I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of them. I am extremely flattered by the opinion you entertain of me, and the very kind manner in which you have expressed it, and beg to return you my particular thanks.

I remain, Sir, with high respect,
Your faithful, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

WINDOW TAX.

At a Meeting of the deputies of the several parishes of Dublin, assembled to procure a repeal of the window tax, December, 1817.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH in the Chair.

Mr. Smith said he had addressed an official letter to Mr. Grattan, also, and had received a note of a few lines from him, by way of reply. The note was in these words:

Sir, 56, Stephen's.

I received your letter the day before yesterday, and should be exceedingly glad, before I give an answer, to have a copy of the petition.

Your very humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Mr. Smith transmitted a copy of the petition to Mr. Grattan, and had since been honoured with the following letter from the Right Hon. Gentleman:

Sir, Tinnehinch, 15th December, 1817.

I had the honour of receiving your letter, with a copy of a petition, entitled, 'A petition of the subscribing individuals;' and I am requested to present the same. I am ready to do so.

I have a great value for the wishes of my fellow-citizens, and I entertain for them a great personal and political affection.

I have a deep conviction of the pressure of the window tax, particularly on my constituents; and I shall exert the best of my efforts, and exercise the best of my judgment, to obtain for them every practical relief on the subject.

I have the honour to be, with great respect and esteem,
Your most obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

The seventh General Meeting of the Deputies.

WILLIAM SMITH. Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. Smith stated, that, in obedience to a Resolution passed by the deputies at their last Meeting, he had, upon that very day, written to Mr. Grattan, to ascertain his sentiments upon the subject of the petition of the householders of Dublin. The following is the letter:

Sir, Brunswick-street, 18th Dec. 1817.

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 15th instant, which I laid before the deputies of the co-operating parishes, at a meeting held this day; and I have been directed by them to acquaint you that the following sentence in that letter,—" *I shall exert the best of my efforts, and exercise the best of my judgment, to obtain for them every practical relief on the subject,*" has excited considerable doubts in their minds with respect to the line of conduct you may hereafter adopt, in regard to their petition. They feel that they are entitled to a repeal of the window tax, both in redemption of a solemn pledge given by Mr. Corry, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the Irish Parliament, and in recompence of the large sums which they were obliged to contribute during the late war; sums, in consequence of their quota having been calculated upon enormous data at the time of the union, considerably surpassing their fair proportion.

When, in obedience to the trust reposed in them by the petitioners, they selected you as one of the individuals best qualified to present their petition, they had in view not merely the relation in which you stood as one of their representatives, but they hoped for the powerful aid of your transcendent abilities, in laying before the House of Commons that claim to a full and unqualified repeal of that obnoxious impost. They were particularly anxious that the individual to whom they should commit the petition confided to their care, would not be the mere medium of its transmission, but would be an active and zealous supporter of the repeal which it sought; they have, therefore, *directed me to request an explanation of the sentence in your letter*, which has excited their doubts, and they would feel much concern if your answer should confirm the apprehensions it has created in their minds, that, instead of advocating a total repeal of the tax, you would be inclined to accept of some modification or diminution of it.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
With the highest respect and esteem,
Your obedient and humble Servant,
WILLIAM SMITH.

Not having received any answer to this letter, he, on the 24th of December, transmitted another copy of his letter to Mr. GRATTAN, accompanied by the following note:

SIR, Brunswick-street, 24th Dec. 1817.

NOT having had the honour of a reply to my letter of the 18th inst., I beg leave to inclose a duplicate of it, lest my former did not come to hand; and as the deputies of the co-operating parishes are to meet on Monday next, I hope to be favoured with a reply in time to lay before them at the Meeting.

I have the honour to be, Sir, with great respect,
Your most obedient humble Servant,
WILLIAM SMITH.

On the 26th he received the following:—

Sir, 23d December, 1817.

I this moment received your letter, with its inclosure, and I shall return an answer by my messenger; I mean my own servant, lest the post should miscarry. I have the honour to be,

Your very obedient humble Servant,

William Smith, Esq. H. GRATTAN.

On the 28th, he received the following letter, marked "A Copy." Another communication, in the same words, and which he supposed was the *original*, reached him this (Monday) morning:

(A COPY.)

Sir, Tinnehinch, Bray, 28th Dec. 1817.

I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 18th.

You are good enough to mention that you laid my answers before the deputies of the co-operating parishes, and that they have expressed a wish for an explanation.

I shall be ever happy to explain myself to my fellow-citizens.

You are pleased to mention that the words "practicable relief," have created their doubts.

By practicable relief, I beg to say, I intended such relief as was compatible with the necessary support of the empire, and the substantial relief of the people.

My fellow-citizens will agree with me, not to compromise the empire or the community; and on this question we may well reconcile the interests of both.

I consider the window-tax as unequal and oppressive; and I wish to relieve my countrymen from the pressure of that heavy impost: and, therefore, I must decline to pledge myself to advocate or accept of no relief but such as shall arise from a total repeal of the tax, without substitute of any kind or sort whatsoever.

With the best wishes for the redress of my constituents, I must then hope that the honour of presenting their petition must be transferred to some other person, who enters into all its objects with an expectation of success; and I shall remain free to make the best terms I can for my countrymen, and to pursue, or accede to their relief, by all such means as shall be found to be practicable.

As to that part of your letter which mentions an error in the calculation of the Irish quota, I beg to say, that when that consideration comes on, I shall take a most decided part to do justice to my country.

I cannot conclude without returning you my most sincere thanks for the trouble you have taken, and for the polite communication with which you have honoured me.

I remain, Sir, with much respect,

Your most faithful, obedient humble Servant,

William Smith, Esq. HENRY GRATTAN.*

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* In consequence of this letter the care of the Petition was entrusted solely to Mr. Shaw (the other city representative).

CITY OF DUBLIN ELECTION.—1818.

TUESDAY, the election for two representatives in Parliament for this city, took place at the Sessions House, Green-street. At an early hour, immense numbers thronged the adjoining streets and avenues. Soon after ten o'clock, the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs took their seats on the bench. The candidates, the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN and ROBERT SHAW, Esq., did not appear until a few minutes after eleven o'clock.

The first proclamation had been read a considerable time before their arrival: they took their place on the bench, and were received by their respective partisans with much applause. Every part of the Court was crowded to excess. The Countess of Charlemont, and some fashionable and distinguished ladies, were accommodated in the gallery, immediately over Mr. GRATTAN's side of the hustings. The prescribed forms being observed,

The Clerk of the Peace having read the writ addressed to the High-Sheriffs,

Mr. G. D. LATOUCHE came forward, and proposed the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN as a fit and proper person to represent the city of Dublin in Parliament.

Mr. ARTHUR GUINNESS, in a brief and impressive speech, seconded the nomination of Mr. GRATTAN. He spoke to this effect:

Mr. SHERIFF and GENTLEMEN,

IT falls to my lot to second the nomination which my Hon. Friend upon my right (Mr. Latouche) has made. I am unaccustomed to public speaking, but I am sure my fellow-citizens will be candid enough to excuse my deficiencies. Fortunately, the subject upon which I have to speak, requires but few observations. Mr. GRATTAN is known to every man who hears me; and I rejoice that my auditors are so well acquainted with him, for it would require an eloquence as great and as powerful as his own, to describe his virtues and his talents. I am speaking in a city which has been the theatre of his greatest glories—the scene of his unparalleled exertions for his country's advantage. We need not turn to the page of modern history, to look for his services; we either know them ourselves, or we have learned them from the lips of our fathers: their best record is in our own hearts, and in those of our parents. We know that Mr. GRATTAN found Ireland depressed and dejected; that he awakened and cherished her sleeping and almost benumbed energies; that he watched the cradle of her independence; and that, by the exercise of his consummate wisdom, his splendid talents, his noble courage, he finally achieved a Constitution for his native land. And though subsequent circumstances, which I shall not now bring into view, overpowered all his efforts to preserve his glorious work complete, we cannot forget that Mr. GRATTAN laid the foundation of Ireland's independence, that that foundation still remains, though the superstructure has been injured. I am sure that there is not an individual who hears me, that is not delighted to see the old and valued and brave champion of Ireland, and Ireland's rights, in such a state of health as gives reason to hope that he will live to serve his country through the whole of the next Parliament. I have but one observation more to make, and it is this: so far am I from entertaining a doubt whether Ireland should include Mr. GRATTAN in the hundred representatives which she sends into the Imperial Parliament, that I am firmly persuaded, that if we were permitted to send but one man to represent this country, Mr. GRATTAN ought to be that man.

This address was received with the most noisy acclamations.

Mr. GRATTAN next came forward. He was received with great applause; and as soon as silence was obtained, he spoke to the following purport:—Mr. Sheriff, my Lord Mayor, and my good friends, my old friends, my fellow-citizens—I am happy to see you once more. I am the member of a popular community, and I love the exercise of popular rights. I have no objection to be questioned; I have no objection to answer any question. It is my duty, as it is my inclination, to give my constituents every satisfaction. [Here some person in the crowd said, in rather a low tone of voice, "That's what you never did."] Mr. GRATTAN, with the greatest animation and strength of manner, turned to that quarter from which the voice issued, and said, I will tell that sagacious citizen that he cannot substantiate his assertion. I call upon him, I defy him, to point out a single act of my public life that has given my countrymen just cause to suspect my integrity, or to suppose me capable of disregarding their interests; and if he fail to do so—and fail, I know he must—I consign him to that contempt and ridicule which the man who utters wild and idle assertions deserves. Mr. GRATTAN then continued. I have certainly differed from some of my fellow-citizens upon some subjects; but I have differed from them with sorrow and with deference. My opinions, however, are the opinions of an honest and sincere man; and I still abide by them. Of that great question of the emancipation of my Catholic countrymen, I will say, that if Providence gives me but a little more of life, I still hope to lay my head in the grave with the consoling reflection, that I have attained that great object of my labour. My fellow-citizen spoke of the corn-bill; and he was perfectly right to state his opinion upon that measure. I advocated that bill; I spoke upon it until, I may say, I tired the House; and I voted in favour of it, because I thought it would be serviceable to this country, by insuring her a preference in the English market. I believe it to be the duty of Great Britain to give Ireland a preference in her markets above all other countries; and, therefore, I supported the corn-bill. My fellow-citizen (Mr. Stephens) takes another view of the subject. I differ from him; and if it be a fault, I must, nevertheless, abide by it, for it is sanctioned by my judgment and my conscience.

The questions which my friend and fellow-citizen (Mr. Willis) has put, I am quite ready to answer. For himself, as well as for his Corporation, I feel much esteem and respect. It is his right to put any question he pleases, and it is my duty to answer. His questions were three: first, Window Tax; second, Union; third, duration of Parliaments. I would ask, whether any man here can have a doubt of my opinions upon that terrible measure, the Union? I would ask, whether any servant of the people took a more zealous or a more active (I will not say able) part in opposing the dissolution of the Parliamentary Constitution of Ireland, than I did? In a state of health, too, which many would not have been able to contend with! But I should flatter and mislead my fellow-citizens, if I allowed them to believe that they were sending me into Parliament to procure a repeal of the Act of Union. I cannot hold out any hope. It was urged in opposition to that dreadful enactment, that it was *final*. To evils which are irremediable, I submit. Shall I tell my fellow-citizens that there is any thing in my physical or political life, which would enable me to relieve them from that *terrible affliction!* I cannot so deceive them.

With respect to the Triennial Parliaments, I have repeatedly voted for plans of reform, of which a limitation of the duration of Parliament made a part. In 1796, Mr. Ponsonby brought forward a measure of reform: another was proposed in 1795. I supported a limitation on both occasions. I would do so, of course, again; but let me add, that a mere limitation of duration would not, in my opinion, constitute such a reform as would be essentially beneficial. It would, undoubtedly, be a valuable *part* of a reform; but the ground-work should be a correction of the representation. Should not that great measure be obtained, I would yet readily vote for the less one. To shorten the duration of Parliaments would be to gain a great good. In the reign of the late King, the Parliament took no root in the country. The frequent return of the representative increases his dependence upon the elector, elevates the middle classes of life, and makes them feel their own importance. I am satisfied that the limitation of Parliament would be serviceable to the country, and I would support a measure of that kind. With respect to the window tax, I will say, that it would not become me, as a member of the House of Commons, to dissent from the wishes of my constituents. For, though I would not lick the people's feet, I think I should be swayed by their sentiment. I have told some of the parishes, whose ardour and zeal to obtain relief were undoubtedly commendable — (I will not now enquire whether they selected the best means)—that I thought this tax ought to be repealed; but I did not stop there: I voted and spoke as zealously as any man for its total rèpeal. To my speech, on the subject, in Parliament, and my letter to the parishes, I beg leave to refer.

And now, having answered those questions which I am happy were put to me, I say to you, my fellow-citizens, if you approve of my past conduct, do me the honour to elect me again as your representative: if you do not, I sincerely wish you may find a more able servant; but I know you cannot choose one more disposed to serve you. [Loud cheering.]

The last proclamations were now made, and the Sheriffs declared Mr. GRATTAN and Mr. SHAW duly elected. These gentlemen returned thanks.

Mr. Grattan rose, and, pressing his hand upon his heart, said, with the strongest emotion, "My good friends, my fellow-citizens, *I thank you.* You have, for the fifth time, elected me the representative of the second city of the greatest empire in the world. You have conferred upon me the highest honour, and you have reflected upon yourselves the greatest credit. You have given a signal proof of the good conduct, and good feeling, and constancy of the citizens of Dublin. You have shown that they possess a public spirit of the best kind, conducted by discretion, moderated by temperance, equally removed from unmeaning violence and tame submissiveness.

"You have treated your representatives kindly; you have been gracious masters to honest servants. It is not for me to say, that there may not be a great many men of wealth and talents in this city, better qualified to represent you than myself; but you have shown that you are incapable of discarding an old servant, *merely* because you had grown tired of him. You have shown that you are superior to levity, and inaccessible to corruption — that you would not give any man cause to disturb the tranquillity of your city. If you had acted otherwise, it would have been terrible to me, because I must then have believed that I had lost your confidence — what remains to me of life is at your service. It was worth little — but you have given it value. You have conferred upon me the highest distinction in your power to bestow — every thing which an honest man can desire, or an old man, like me, accept — the assurance that he carries to his grave the affections of his fellow-citizens." (This speech was delivered in a very affecting tone of voice, and with much fervency. It drew tears from many of the auditors, and was loudly and repeatedly applauded.)*

ST. AUDEON'S PARISH.

At a General Meeting of the Inhabitants of St. Audeon's parish, on the 6th day of July, 1818.

HENRY DOOLITTLE, Esq. Churchwarden, in the Chair.

The following Resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

Resolved, That the late atrocious outrage committed on the person of the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, by an infuriate and ignorant rabble, disgraceful to our city, and to our feelings as Irishmen, calls forth our utmost surprise and indignation.

Resolved, That the following Address be presented in the most respectful manner.

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* Shortly after leaving the hustings, Mr. Grattan was attacked by a mob, who quickly demolished the chair, assailing him and his friends with sticks and other missiles. One of them struck Mr. Grattan in the face, and drew forth a considerable effusion of blood: he was assisted by his son and his friends to a neighbouring house, and was confined some time by the effects of the wound; but it proved of no material injury.

To the Right Honourable Henry Grattan.

SIR,

WE, the Inhabitants of St. Audeon's parish, beg to offer our congratulations on your escape from the recent disgraceful attempt on your venerable person, by an infuriate and ignorant rabble.

We feel confident that every man of honour laments, in common with us, that an assault of so atrocious a nature should have been committed upon any individual, but above all, upon the man who exerted his unrivalled and distinguished talents, and risked his person in the defence of the independence of his country.

We cannot conclude, Sir, without expressing an ardent hope, that Providence will long continue to preserve your valuable life, to your family, your friends, and your country.

HENRY DOOLITTLE, Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

FRIENDS AND FELLOW-CITIZENS,

To have been exposed to the momentary anger of a violent rabble, is a misfortune common to almost every man in a free country. Misfortunes that are common to all should be complained of by none—it is a small price we pay for our inestimable constitution; but to have had such a trifling danger attended with such public testimonies of kindness, is a piece of good fortune peculiar to myself, for which I beg leave to return my sincere thanks. May we long enjoy that constitution, and never have more reason to complain than that which such an event has afforded.

I remain, gratefully,
Your faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ST. PAUL'S PARISH.

AT a most numerous and respectable Meeting of the inhabitants of St. Paul's parish, held at the Vestry, on Monday the 6th inst. pursuant to requisition.

J. T. BELL and D. LINDSAY, Esqrs. Churchwardens, in the Chair.

THE following Address was unanimously agreed to, and five gentlemen appointed to present the same.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

SIR,

IN unison with those feelings which actuate every independent Irishman, we beg to express our abhorrence at the base attempt which has been made to insult our incorruptible and long-tried representative, and bring on our country the foul charge of ingratitude.

We feel, however, the consolation that this act, the mere temporary ebullition of misguided ignorance, has given an opportunity to your fellow citizens of all ranks and persuasions, to come forward with the expression of their attachment to the venerable champion of Ireland's rights, the stedfast guardian of her often assailed character.

The bright pages of our history in which the name of Grattan and constitutional liberty are connected, can never be obliterated from the remembrance of Irishmen.

The citizens of Dublin have five times elected you their representative; and though on the day on which, for the fifth time, they placed the sacred trust in your hands, a few contemptible ruffians should for a moment interrupt the triumph of our city, yet the universal fervour which has thus been excited, makes us rather exult than grieve at the circumstance.

We take this occasion to tell you, that at no furure period has our admiration for your talents, our gratitude for your patriotism, our respect for your virtues, been more lively or sincere, than at the present.

Signed on behalf of the Parishioners,
J. T. BELL, }
D. LINDSAY, } Churchwardens.

On Mr. Grattan's receiving the Address he was pleased to return the following Answer:

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

The anxiety of my countrymen exceeds far the importance of the object about which it is exercised.

I wish I could promise you, that any efforts of mine could justify the warm feelings which my fellow-citizens have expressed on my account — as a testimony of past service, they are to me inestimable; they gratify, in the highest degree, the legitimate ambition of an Old Man, which is to continue to possess, to his last day, the affection of his country.

I remain, Gentlemen,
Your grateful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

8th July, 1818.

ST. MARK'S PARISH.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

While we deplore, in common with our fellow-citizens, the unparalleled and atrocious outrage offered to your venerated person, we feel impatient to lay before you the homage of our sincere and heartfelt congratulations for your safety from the attempt of a few outcast and senseless miscreants, who are as alien in feeling to the community at large, as they are to every sense of shame or virtue. We would despair of the morals of the people, were we not assured, that you are covered by the impenetrable shield of their protective love; and who, scorning to lose their resentment on the offal of the city, require only a dangerous emergency to call forth the fulness of that affection, which your eminent services in your country's cause, have a right to demand; for we know few patriots living, however meritorious or emulous of public distinction, who must not shrink from the competition, when you advance your claims to popular favour. We know few senators, however honourably ambitious of a reception in the Temple of Fame, who must not retire abashed, when the record of your political achievements is unfolded.

Pursuing steadily, the path of our immortal Swift, who, investigating the causes of Ireland's prostration, with intuitive sagacity, discovered and exposed the blemishes with which a bad government had disfigured her, your giant arm raised her from the degrading abyss — her blemishes vanished before the splendour of your eloquence; and when the perfidious spoiler came to rifle those envied beauties your parental tenderness had matured; when your patriot love could no longer sustain the Irish nation, on the proud and independent eminence to which your intrepid integrity raised her, you were found heroically offering the sacrifice of your life, in vindication of her expiring rights, and in aid of her last agonies, flinging with virtuous despair, your indignant rapier in the teeth of the ruffian policy, that, in extinguishing her resident Parliament, has extinguished the liberties of guiltless Ireland.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

There is, in every community, a set of men who hang loose on the society, and who form no part of it, although they may occasionally interrupt its repose; they are to be forgiven and forgotten. No wise man — no candid man can attribute to the community their actions — nor can their wild proceedings blemish the society, although for a moment they interrupt its repose. I enter into the spirit with which you applaud our great countryman, the illustrious Swift, and have an hereditary attachment to his genius and his patriotism; in defending your rights I did my duty, and shall always defend the privileges of Ireland.

I remain, gratefully,
Your faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ADDRESS OF ST. ANN'S PARISH.

We, the inhabitants of St. Ann's parish, assembled in vestry, beg leave to offer you our sincere congratulations on your recent escape from a most detestable and brutal attack on your person, in the moment of celebrating your unanimous re-election to represent this city in Parliament. The usual terms of disgust and indignation fail us in our attempt to express the feelings arising from this inexplicable and wanton outrage. We would wish to impress, Sir, on your mind, and on that of our Countrymen in all parts of this Empire, that gratitude for long-tried services, and personal affection to the steady friend of this country, are not dead in the breasts of the people of Dublin.—We would wish that the violence of an infuriated and unthinking mob, should not be mistaken for the deliberate act of the citizens at large.

Believe us, the sentiment of gratitude for your escape, is universal amongst all classes.—Believe that the warmest wish of all hearts, is that you may long live to represent this city, in the enjoyment of health, prosperity, and the affection of your constituents.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

An accidental outrage committed by an individual, has given you an opportunity of expressing your kindness to me, and given me an occasion to declare my attachment to you.

The warmth of your expressions proceeds more from the goodness of your hearts, than from any pretensions of mine.

I receive them as a testimony of the affections of my Fellow-citizens, rather than as a measure of my merits.

I am proud to find my past conduct has obtained your approbation; that approbation is in itself a reward, and an additional inducement to persist to act upon those principles which have obtained the affection of my fellow-citizens.

I remain,
Your obedient humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ST. MARY'S PARISH.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the householders of St. Mary's parish, convened by public notice, and held at the Vestry-room, on Monday, 6th July.

C. THORPE and RICHARD WRIGHT, Churchwardens, in the Chair.

It was Resolved unanimously, That it is with sentiments of deep regret we express our abhorrence of the late violent attack on our revered representative, the Right Honourable Henry Grattan. We thought his long and valuable services, his great and transcendent talents, his amiable character in private life, his hoary locks, and his past labours for the public good, should have checked such savage outrage on so virtuous a patriot.

Resolved, that a Committee, composed of the following gentlemen, Rev. W. Walker, Robert Armstrong, Jos. Kearney, Francis Hughes, James Huffington, James Chambers, G. Scurlog, Thomas Daniel, P. Fitzpatrick, J. Abbott, Esqrs., with the Churchwardens, be appointed to prepare asuitable Address on the occasion, and that they do present the same to Mr. Grattan.

The Committee having retired for a short time, submitted the following Address to the Meeting, which was unanimously agreed to.

Resolved, That the Churchwardens be requested to publish the said Address, with Mr. GRATTAN's Answer, three times, in The Freeman's Journal, Carrick's Morning Post, and Dublin Evening Post.

The Churchwardens, accompanied by the above-named gentlemen, and a number of parishioners, waited upon MR. GRATTAN, on the 9th instant, with the following Address:

To the Right Honorable Henry Grattan.

SIR,

WERE we not fully satisfied that the late attack upon your person was the unpremeditated act of a few wretches, degraded alike by ignorance and vice below the level of humanity, we should feel ashamed to acknowledge ourselves natives of a country in which such an outrage could be committed.

It is not, Sir, amongst the dupes of delusion, or the slaves of unmeaning passion, that you are to look for the judgment of this generation, or the decision of posterity. If the diligent and consistent exercise of the most splendid talents in the service of your country, the most zealous attachment to her interests, the most important political achievements recorded in her history, have left one rational man in the country insensible of your worth. We trust the day is far distant when his prejudices shall be removed by the loss of a genius so exalted, of a patriot so true. The father of your country, forgive the excesses of a misguided few, and exalt your already illustrious character by the magnanimity of the Grecian sage, who poured from his poisoned cup a libation for the enemies who pursued him to destruction.

May you, Sir, long enjoy the unclouded reflections of a superior and unfading mind, upon a useful and illustrious life, and the happy consciousness that it has been honestly and affectionately devoted to the highest duties of society.

Signed by order,
CHARLES THORPE, } Churchwardens.
RICHARD WRIGHT, }

6th July.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

MY FRIENDS,

YOU are right: you attribute the event of the other day to a few individuals, who form no part of the community, such as are to be found in every country, without belonging to any.

It is to the great sense of the community I appeal, and by their judgment I will stand. Already has that judgment been pronounced in my favour, and the unseemly event above alluded to has produced to me the most important advantages.

The warmth of your indignation is founded on your sense of justice—the warmth of your approbation on your generous nature and the characteristical order of my countrymen.

I have the honour to be,
Your grateful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

9th July.

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freemen, and Freeholders of the City of Dublin.

GENTLEMEN,

I BEG to return you thanks for the honour you have done me, in returning me to represent you in Parliament. I accept the duty with respect, and shall discharge it with fidelity worthy of that constituency by whom it had been preferred.

I have the honour to remain, Gentlemen,
With every sentiment of respect,
Your faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Stephen's Green, 11th July, 1818.

I beg also to return thanks to those who have done me the honor of making their obliging inquiries after my health.

ST. NICHOLAS WITHOUT.

A DEPUTATION, consisting of the following gentlemen—The Rev. A. Hilles, the Rev. Doctor Hamill, Mr. J. D. Mullin, Mr. P. Byrne, Mr. Furlong, Mr. Spencer, Mr. Gahan, Mr. Bell, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Ayres, &c. &c., waited on Mr. GRATTAN, on Wednesday last, to present him the following Address from the parish of St. Nicholas Without.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

WE, the parishioners of the parish of St. Nicholas Without, assembled in Vestry, thus publicly avow our horror and detestation at the vile and atrocious attack committed on you the day of your election to represent the city of Dublin in parliament.

Participating in those sentiments of regard and esteem for your great talents and exalted patriotism, which our fellow citizens have so unanimously expressed, we hasten to offer you our warmest congratulations on your happy escape from the outrage on your venerable person, the enormity of which no language can describe.

That the empire may long enjoy your exertions as a legislator, our city the honour of its connexion with you as its representative, and Ireland its proudest ornament, is the sincere and anxious wish of your devoted countrymen.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

My Friends and Fellow Citizens,

I thank you: you say it is your wish that I may long live to serve the empire.—Permit me to amend your wish, by the addition of mine, which is, that *you* may long live to enjoy the blessings of a free constitution—that you and your families may long prosper, and that you may transmit to your children your spirit and your privileges.

I remain, Gentlemen,
Your grateful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ST. THOMAS'S PARISH.

The following Address was presented by the Parishioners of St. Thomas's parish.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

We, the parishioners of St. Thomas's parish, assembled pursuant to a requisition, beg leave, in common with our fellow citizens, to congratulate you on your being, for the fifth time, elected one of the representatives of our city in Parliament; and also to express our horror and detestation at the late atrocious outrage offered to your person, by a few infuriated individuals, who could only have been actuated by some sudden, and as yet inexplicable, impulse, to commit so vile and detestable an act, on one so sacred to his country at large, but particularly to the citizens of Dublin.

It, however, must be a source of consolation to you to receive, as it is to us to witness, the unanimous expressions of congratulation presented to you from all classes of your fellow citizens, and be assured that none will approach you, whose attachment to your person and public character, can surpass ours in zeal and sincerity.

Signed, in behalf of selves and fellow parishioners,
JOHN SHAW,
CHAMB. R. WALKER, } Churchwardens.

Vestry Room, 6th July, 1818.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

My Friends and Fellow Citizens,

A few individuals — a sudden and inexplicable impulse — a momentary infatuation — any thing, every thing, might account for that violence of which you complain: it is not worth your investigation: my friends and electors, have nothing to say to it. I receive the unanimous expressions of congratulation from my fellow citizens, not as a consolation for such a trifle as that, but as an inestimable testimony which I shall endeavour to merit and ever preserve.

I remain gratefully,
Your faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ST. WERBURGH'S PARISH.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

We, the parishioners of St. Werburgh's parish, assembled pursuant to public notice, beg leave to offer you our most sincere and heartfelt congratulations, on your late providential escape from the brutal frenzy of a cowardly and sanguinary mob.

Although we are convinced that the guilt of this base assault extends but to a few, still we feel it a matter of national reproach, that even a single individual could be found amongst us, so stupidly ferocious as to raise his parricidal hand against a man, who may be justly called the father of his country—at the very moment, too, when the great body of your constituents had unanimously, and, for the *fifth* time, entrusted to your protection the guardianship of their rights and liberties—and, while your fellow-citizens, of every class and party, were preparing to hail your approach in the proudest and most rational of civic triumphs.

For the sake of our country, for the sake of humanity, we would wish to obliterate every trace of this odious transaction; we would only remember, if possible, the undaunted heroism, the equanimity and coolness which you manifested on this trying occasion; we had seen those qualities often displayed in defence of your country—how melancholy, how degrading to humanity, that, after forty years' faithful services, they should at last become necessary in defence of your very valuable life.

Again we entreat you to accept our sincerest congratulations on your deliverance from the brutal hand of ruffian violence, and our most ardent wishes for your future health, safety, and prosperity.

By order,
W. H. FINLAY, Vestry Clerk.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

My Friends and Fellow Citizens,

I beg to repeat what I cannot enlarge upon—my thorough sense of the indignation you express at the outrage made upon your representative, and my total oblivion of the transaction, further than as it serves to bring forth, on the subject of my conduct, the approbation of my fellow citizens, and the sense of the city; to that I bear a most unfeigned respect, and return you my most hearty thanks.

With every expression of gratitude,
I remain, Gentlemen,
Your faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ADDRESS OF ST. ANDREW'S PARISH.

SIR,

PERMIT us to offer you our sincere congratulations on your escape from the late savage and cowardly assault upon your person, and to express our abhorrence of such an atrocious outrage.

Few and contemptible as were the ruffians who dared to attack you, we cannot think without horror on the possible consequences of such an assault; on the danger which threatened the life of one, dear to us from so many remembrances, so long our representative, venerable from years, and the services by which your constant attachment to the interests of the country has been proved.

It is impossible to convey the feelings with which we regard this disgraceful occurrence; it is unnecessary, we trust, to declare the sense which the citizens of Dublin entertain of your long experienced services, but we cannot neglect the opportunity which is afforded us of expressing how sincerely we join in the general wish, that you may enjoy many happy years of added life; that the empire may be long blessed with the advantage of your counsels, and that succeeding years may, like the past, be marked by new illustrations of your wisdom, your virtues, and your patriotism, and new proofs of the admiration and esteem with which you have been always regarded.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

To you who express yourselves with so much approbation of my conduct; to you who express yourselves with so much indignation at my injury, I can only reply, that your praise surpasses my merit, and your expressions my power of thanking you. As far as those powers go, you will accept my gratitude, and the warmest acknowledgments for your kindness and sympathy.

I have the honour to be,
Your very faithful Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ST. MICHAN'S PARISH.

At a Meeting of the Householders of this Parish, convened by public notice, and held at the Vestry Room, July 4th, 1818.

The CHURCHWARDENS in the Chair.

Resolved unanimously, That a Committee be appointed to prepare an Address to the Right Honorable Henry Grattan, to express our abhorrence of the recent outrage offered to his person on returning from the hustings in this city, after being unanimously re-elected our representative in Parliament, and to congratulate him on his providential escape from any serious injury.

A Committee was accordingly appointed to prepare such Address, who retired for the purpose, and soon after submitted an Address to the Meeting, which was read paragraph by paragraph, and unanimously agreed to. A deputation was then appointed to present the said Address to Mr. Grattan, consisting of the following persons:

William Smith, Esq.
James King, Esq.
William Glynn, Esq.
Thomas Morgan, Esq.
James Dillon, Esq.
William Courtney, Esq.
Hon. F. H. Hutchinson
James Corry, Esq.
Hugh Dick, Esq.
Rev. Thomas Gamble
Rev. Piers R. Gamble
William Hawthorn, Esq.
Marcus Hickey, Esq.

Resolved, That the said Address be, with Mr. Grattan's Answer, published in the Freeman's Journal, the Dublin Evening Post, Carrick's Morning Post, and the Correspondent.

To the Right Honourable Henry Grattan.

Sir,

We, the householders of the parish of St. Michan, have waited upon you to request that you will accept our sincere congratulations on your late providential escape from the violent outrage that was offered to your person.

We rejoice that you have received no serious injury, but how shall we find it possible to express the horror with which we contemplate the act!

All good men, however they may differ from each other upon subjects of a religious or political character, must unite, as we do, in feeling surprised, that, even among the vilest of the community, there should be found any Irishman so base, as to raise his hand against him whose life has been devoted to the service of his country.

They must also feel with us, that the blow, that was struck against you, Sir, was struck against the well-being of society, throughout all its relations. The city of Dublin was insulted in its representative, — Ireland in the champion of her best and brightest days, — and the empire at large in the person of him, whose virtuous patriotism has been the admiration of her senate-house.

Suffer us, however, to assure you, Sir, before we take our leave, that the ruffians by whom your life was assaulted, have only made that life more dear to every loyal and honest heart in the community.

The Churchwardens, accompanied by the foregoing deputation, waited on MR. GRATTAN on the 9th instant, with the above Address, to which he gave the following Answer:

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE accident of the other day, as a bodily hurt, was nothing; as a political event, it is to me every thing. It has given occasion to my fellow citizens to express their regard for me. Different as their sentiments may be on the various subjects of religion and politics, they, too, seem to unite in an anxiety for my safety; different as those sentiments may be, on religion and politics, I unite with them in an anxiety for theirs; and there are two sentiments in which every Irishman will agree, the sentiments of freedom and humanity.

Accept my thanks — they proceed from a grateful heart, and are presented to a cordial — to a worthy — to an honourable community.

I remain, Gentlemen, gratefully
Your faithful, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ST. PETER'S PARISH.

THE following Address to MR. GRATTAN was presented to him by the Committee appointed for that purpose, accompanied by a number of the Parishioners.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

SIR,

WE, the inhabitants of St. Peter's parish, convened in pursuance of public requisition, beg leave to approach you with our most sincere congratulations, on your having escaped, with so little injury, from the late atrocious attack upon your life, by an infuriate mob; an attack so hostile to every just and honourable feeling, to every principle of respect for private worth, and veneration for public virtue, that we cannot but be most anxious to vindicate our city from the disgrace which such an outrage tends to cast upon it—by thus marking it with the strongest expression of our reprobation and abhorrence. Permit us, Sir, also to take this opportunity of conveying to you our most anxious wishes, that you may long live to enjoy that happiness which ever attends the last years of a life such as yours, cheered as it is, by the retrospect of exertions which all classes of your fellow citizens must concur in feeling, have been uniformly influenced by the purest and most honourable motives, and which, therefore, must deserve and receive the gratitude of the patriotic, the esteem of the good, and secure that tranquillity of mind which is the highest reward of public and private virtue.

Signed for, and on behalf of the Parishioners,
RICHARD PALMER, } Churchwardens.
ROBERT LANNIGAN, }

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN,

THE interest my fellow citizens take in the case of an individual, is more than any subject can merit.

There is a magnificence with which the public rewards her servants which partakes more of the nature of the body that confers the favour, than of the individual who receives it — with this reflection I measure my own merit, and the kindness of my fellow citizens.

You will accept my acknowledgments for your favour, and believe that I remain, Gentlemen, gratefully,

Your faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ADDRESS,

BY the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Cutlers, Painter Stainers, and Stationers; or, Guild of St. Luke the Evangelist, Dublin.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

SIR AND BROTHER,

YOUR Brethren of the Guild of St. Luke, have deputed us to offer you their most heartfelt congratulations on your escape from the malignant attack of a few contemptible ruffians; our indignation against them can only be equalled by our admiration at the cool intrepidity displayed by you in your defence; we required no new proof of your heroism — great minds are seldom deficient on such occasions. — While we regret the cause of its display, we hope, that the general rush of all orders and religions of your more virtuous fellow citizens, to your rescue, making your triumph more glorious, by its testimony of the public regard for your safety, will prove a balm and consolation, under the injuries you have sustained.

That your life may be prolonged for the future service of your country, and that every succeeding year may increase your popularity with the people of Ireland, is our sincere wish, and of our brethren who have deputed us.

SIMON BRIGLEY, Master.,
WILLIAM SOMERVILLE, } Wardens.
JAMES BOSWELL, }
PATRICK MURRAY, Clk. Guild.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

MY FRIENDS,

I HAVE forgotten the transactions of Tuesday, but I can never forget the affections of my fellow citizens.

I can never forget that they have five times elected me to serve them in Parliament—that they have given the strongest indications of personal regard, far beyond my pretensions; and have felt for me more than I ought to feel for myself.

We must ever distinguish the errors and outrages of a few, from the solid sense and good heart of the community.

" These are evils inseparable from the nature of man, and incidental to every free state. We will preserve the freedom; we will overlook the evil; and whatever be the fury of a few, or the fate of an individual, may the liberties of the people be eternal.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your most faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

GUILD OF MERCHANTS.

Post-Hall, 7th July, 1818.

RESOLVED unanimously, That the following Address be presented to the Right Hon. HENRY GRATTAN:—

BROTHER,

WE, the Masters, Wardens, and Brethren, of the Guild of Merchants, Dublin, whilst with feelings of the warmest affection and esteem we congratulate you, our Fellow-Citizens, the Irish Nation, and the British Empire, upon your providential escape from the hands of lawless violence, on the day on which your fellow-citizens gave you the strongest proof of their approbation of your conduct in Parliament, by unanimously electing you, for the fifth time, their representative, we deeply deplore, and strongly deprecate the base attempt made on your venerable person.

That you may long live to exercise those splendid talents which, directed by your highly-informed mind and honest heart, have eminently contributed to the advancement of our trade and commerce, and the glory of the empire, is our most fervent wish.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

My Brethren,

You congratulate me on my safety, and I congratulate myself on having received the testimony of your approbation. The event of the other day does not deserve to be remembered, further than by its having produced such proofs of your kindness and affection. It has given you an opportunity of making the most splendid declarations in my favour, and gives me an occasion to thank you, and to prefer my warmest wishes for your trade, your prosperity, and your freedom. To have been in any degree instrumental to promote those great objects, is my greatest glory; to have received your approbation, an ample reward.

Accept my thanks and warmest acknowledgments.

I remain, gratefully,
Your faithful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ADDRESS of the CORPORATION of CARPENTERS, MILLERS, MASONS, &c.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

We, the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Carpenters, Millers, Masons, Healers, Turners, and Plumbers, of the city of Dublin, beg leave to offer you our sincere congratulations on your escape from the nefarious attempt on your most valuable person.

Your life, Sir, has been ever spent in the exercise of the most transcendant talent for the benefit of your country.

Be assured, Sir, you live in the hearts of every well-wisher to Ireland; and we fondly cherish the hope, that you may long live to be the representative of this city, and by the exercise of your exalted abilities, promote its prosperity and happiness. Impressed with these sentiments, we beg to express our gratitude to you for past services, and our hope that that scene which has disgraced our city, may be obliterated from your memory.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

You will accept my sincere thanks for your kind Address. The event to which you allude has had this good effect—that it has tended to renew and strengthen the link between the representative and the constituents, and render my fellow-citizens more dear to me than ever.

I remain your faithful, obedient Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

At a Meeting of the Corporation of Hosiers, or Guild of St. George, Dublin, held, pursuant to requisition, on Wednesday the 8th inst., at their Hall, Coombe.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, Master, in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously resolved to be presented to our venerated brother, the Right Honourable HENRY GRATTAN:—

SIR,

WE, the Master, Wardens, and Brethren of the Corporation of Hosiers, or Guild of St. George, fully and deeply participating in the sentiments of indignation and abhorrence so universally entertained by our fellow-citizens, at the late atrocious outrage committed on your person, which, by every Irishman, should be held sacred, hasten to approach you with our warmest congratulations on your happy and providential escape.

Could such an unforeseen outrage be attributed to any other cause, than the folly and unpremeditated wickedness of an insignificant portion of an ignorant rabble it would affix an indelible stain of base ingratitude on this metropolis, which has witnessed the many and great services you have rendered to your country, and which could never forget the arduous struggles you had so repeatedly made for the independence and preservation of its Parliament.

We, Sir, feel assured, that you will attribute the occurrence to the true cause; and that you will see in it an occasion for rejoicing only, as it has furnished your constituents and fellow-citizens with an opportunity of conveying to you the gratifying conviction, that you have held, and must ever hold, a high place in their affections; that such have been, and will ever continue to be, the feelings of attachment entertained by this Guild, we trust, Sir, you can never doubt. That Guild has been foremost in claiming the honour of enrolling you among its freemen; nor can it cease to think of you but as the venerated father of your country.

A Deputation having presented the above Address, Mr. GRATTAN replied:—

MY BROTHERS,

I HAVE the honour of being one of your body; I am a brother, and belong to the Corporation of St. George. It is many years since I have had that honour. This is not the first time on which I have had occasion to thank you; some of my best friends are of our Corporation. I am glad to meet you, and happy to make you my sincere acknowledgments. Your Address to me is a renewal of old communications, which endear the member to his constituents, and the constituents to the member. Accept my sincere thanks, and believe me now, as I ever have been,

Your faithful Friend and humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ST. JAMES'S PARISH.

THE subjoined Address was presented, on Tuesday, to Mr. GRATTAN, by a Deputation from St. James's parish. The Rev. Dr. WATERS, Vicar, before delivering the Address, expressed himself in these words :—

MR. GRATTAN,

WE, the Minister and Deputation from St. James's Parish, wait upon you, to add our small tribute to the general congratulation on your late happy escape from the violence offered to your person, by the misguided, misjudging hand of riot and anarchy. The Address which I now have the honour to present to you, is not replete with flowery, elegant, court-like language; but though it may be deficient in that respect, it contains the sincere language of our hearts, filled with respect and friendship for your person; a friendship founded on the solid base of that esteem and veneration which we feel, which the world feels, for your exalted character and transcendant abilities. We hope and sincerely wish that you may long enjoy ease and affluence, accompanied by good health, the first and greatest of all earthly blessings.

Mr. Waters then concluded with these lines from Horace :—

Serus in Cœlum redeas, diuque
Lætus intersis Populo Hiberniæ.

The ADDRESS of the PARISHIONERS of St. JAMES'S PARISH.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

SIR,

WE, the inhabitants of St. James's Parish, approach you with those feelings of respect and attachment which your long and faithful services have implanted and cherished in our hearts, but which the late attack upon your person calls upon us at this time emphatically to express.

We regret the great disgrace which a few misguided individuals have brought upon our city, and the distress which the commission of such an outrage must have inflicted upon your patriotic heart. We trust, however, that the cheering voice of universal sympathy and attachment will remove the painful impression which an insult so cruel and so wanton was calculated to produce, and that the occurrence will be banished from your mind and memory for ever!

We feel convinced that you will be consoled by reflecting upon the attachment which your constituents feel towards you; the gratitude with which they look back upon your past exertions; the pleasure which they feel in calling you their fellow-citizen; and their pride in claiming you as their *own* representative.

The most precious days of our history are connected with your political career; our best privileges were obtained through your zealous and ardent instrumentality; the lustre of your eloquence illuminated the dark page of our annals; united to us by a thousand links of early association, we cherish, with feelings of warm anticipation, a continuance of that connection which has so long reflected honour upon a large and respectable city; and we earnestly hope that the same merciful Providence which has recently shielded you from serious injury, may long preserve you, and for ever protect you.

Signed,
JAMES WATERS, Vicar, Chairman,
M. J. O'KELLY, Secretary.

St. James's Vestry Room,
4th July, 1818.

Mr. Grattan's Reply.

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

If I could convert wishes into services, there is nothing should not be done for my country; but time, which does not set bounds to gratitude, imposes limits on the faculties of old men. My inclinations are alive as ever for my country; and what I want in ability, I must make up in affection.

I want words to express my thanks to you for the interest you have taken in this late accident, and remain, Gentlemen,

Your grateful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

At a Meeting of the Tenantry of the Vicars-town Estate, held at Stradbally, on Sunday, the 5th day of July, 1818.

WILLIAM DUNNE, Esq. in the Chair.

The following Address was proposed to be presented to the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, and unanimously agreed to:—

That we have heard, with the deepest regret and horror, that an attempt of the foulest nature has been made to deprive us of the support of a kind and good landlord; our country of her tried friend, and society of its brightest ornament. That whilst we express our disgust and horror at the attempt, we cannot but return thanks for the miraculous preservation of a life so dear to us all. We have met on this day previous to divine service, that we each retire to his respective place of worship, and in an humble, but grateful manner, return thanks to the Almighty, who has been graciously pleased to spare the life of our friend,

Sir, we have found you at all times ready to aid and assist the poor tenants on your property, and we are particularly anxious to seize this opportunity of publicly expressing our gratitude for the relief you afforded last year to the poor on your estate.* You nursed them; you employed all who were distressed; and, we believe, saved many from destruction, who, without that employment, and the food you provided for them, would have fallen victims to the unprecedented calamity of the last season. For these favours we return you for them our warmest thanks, and sincerely do we hope you will soon be able to come amongst us.

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* A year of unprecedented distress throughout Ireland.

The situation you had just been chosen to fill, and from which it was intended to *hurl you*, was one you have long filled with honour to yourself, and advantage to your country; and when we reflect on this, and on the interest you have always taken in the concerns of the citizens of Dublin, we feel astonished that in that city one individual could be found daring enough to raise his arm against the man of the people.

We are, Sir, with profound respect and esteem,
Your faithful Servants.

Signed on behalf of the tenantry, by
WILLIAM DUNNE, Chairman.

Upon William Dunne, Esq., leaving the Chair, William Lyons, Esq., was unanimously voted into it; when it was

RESOLVED, That the thanks of this Meeting be given to our worthy Chairman, for his kind and proper conduct in the Chair.

Signed on behalf of the Tenants, by
WILLIAM LYONS.

Mr. Grattan's Reply.

MY EXCELLENT FRIENDS,

I THANK you for the interest you take in my safety.

If I have done you any service, you have repaid it by your punctuality and fidelity; and if you are satisfied with your Landlord, your Landlord is satisfied with you. The late event was an accident that proceeded from a few senseless individuals.

The city of Dublin has expressed the strongest indignation on the subject, and has done me the greatest honour.

I remain, your faithful and affectionate Friend,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Stephen's-green, Dublin,
10th July.

ADDRESS OF BRIDGET'S PARISH.

SIR,

THE violence committed on your person on the 30th ult. we look on as only short of parricide.

The arm of the fiend who struck you we would immolate, in atonement for the outrage committed on the honour of our city.

Our representation in the Imperial Parliament we would deem nugatory, were it not for its forensic genius; and in you, Sir, we behold with pride one of our brightest constellations, which, we trust, will one day burst like a thunderbolt, to rend asunder that gloomy cloud, the Union, which so darkens our horizon, that it may fall on our country in an enlivening shower of liberty; and let us enjoy the sunshine of our latter days as free as the air we breathe.

We offer our congratulations on your providential escape from the hands of the assassin, and implore that Power which protected you in the hour of danger, that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that, for the services rendered your lost country, he may finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens,

A crazy individual, who might be found in any country, committed an outrage upon the person of your representative, without any serious consequence. Your indignation upon that subject has raised *that* individual in your favour, and has transferred your abhorrence of the transaction to an exaggerated approbation of the man. However, after making every deduction on that account, I still have the serious satisfaction to think, that there will remain a balance of public service, which, though my fellow-citizens now over-rate, they will always remember. In that conviction I thank you, and remain, Gentlemen,

Your grateful humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

At a numerous and respectable Meeting of the Parishioners of St. George's, convened under requisition.

The Hon. A. HELY HUTCHINSON in the Chair.

The following Address was unanimously agreed to.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

In congratulating you on your providential escape from the late attempt on your person, we beg leave to say, that we are animated by motives of a more lasting character than mere selfish principles or party zeal—motives, Sir, we trust, more becoming ourselves, and honourable to you.

We have beheld, with astonishment and indignation, your feelings violated and your life endangered, by an infatuated few, regardless of the laws, unscared by the dignity of your exalted station, or the proud splendour of your name.

Though not of the immediate number of your constituents, we gladly avail ourselves of this opportunity to express, in common with all good men, our detestation of such miscreants, and our abhorence of such principles — they are parricides against their country, and as such we cannot cease to consider them.

Convinced that you are more concerned for the insult offered to our national character, than for the outrage committed against yourself, we shall endeavour to imitate your magnanimity, by suffering our feelings to merge in your desire to forgive the injury, and only beg leave to assure you, Sir, of our unfeigned respect, and sincere satisfaction at your providential preservation.

Thanks being returned to the Churchwardens, and the Hon. A. Hely Hutchinson having left the Chair, and John Barlow, Esq. one of the Churchwardens, being called thereto, the thanks of the Meeting were unanimously voted to the Hon. Chairman.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

My Friends and Fellow Citizens,

It is with peculiar satisfaction I received your most respectable deputation. Whether I consider the individuals who compose it, or the matter which it contains, I must attribute your anxiety for my safety, more to the humane dispositions of my fellow citizens than to any merit of mine. A trifling accident, that might have been of some consequence, that proved to be of none, has given you an opportunity of displaying sensibilities which do honour to your hearts, and influence your judgment. I can only express my acknowledgments, and wish that I could justify, by my merits, the interest the country takes in my preservation.

I remain, gratefully,
Your faithful, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

THE ADDRESS OF ST. CATHARINE'S PARISH.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

We, the undersigned parishioners of St. Catharine's parish, assembled in vestry, approach to offer you the assurance of our strongest indignation and sincerest sorrow for the base outrage that was recently offered to your person, when your fellow citizens were chairing you, in testimony of their joy at your unanimous re-election to represent their city in Parliament.

To have that honour conferred upon you for the fifth time, may, Sir, be esteemed a proud token of the approbation with which your fellow citizens view your political conduct. In ordinary cases we would esteem it an ample reward for a long life of political integrity. But, Sir, when we look back upon the events of *your* life, so usefully and so brilliantly spent in the service of your country — when we recollect that, in the events of that life is traced the brightest page that adorns her history — when we recollect that, to you, she is indebted for a name that she may with pride hold in comparison with the greatest senators, the greatest orators, and the greatest patriots of antiquity. We must wish that she could offer you a richer honour, as a tribute of the gratitude she owes you.

Should, Sir, that country, in the decline of a life, from which she has reaped so rich a harvest of benefits, have raised her voice to revile, or her arm to insult you, not all the brilliancy of your GREAT NAME, not all the glories your life has shed around her, could redeem her abroad, or with posterity, from the stain of so foul an ingratitude.

For the sake, Sir, of our common country, we are foremost to proclaim to the world, to record it for posterity, that the insult we deplore was not inflicted by her; that she was blasphemed if it was offered in her name.

No, Sir, your country disowns the ruffian that would harm you, she execrates the wretch that raised his arm to insult, in your person, every thing that is dear to her from association with the brilliant periods through which you conducted her.

If it seemed for an instant that you were left unprotected from such a sacrilege, it was because it could never enter into the calculations of foresight, that envy, that malice, that faction, could find a wretch, or band of wretches, abandoned or hardy enough to offer you an insult in an assembly of Irish men.

Accept, Sir, our warmest sympathies on this occasion; accept, Sir, our warmest congratulations at your escape without serious injury from so vile an outrage; accept, Sir, the assurances of your country's unalterable affection, and may Heaven grant you a long life still to serve her, and to adorn the age in which we live.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

MY FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS,

THE choice you have made of me to represent you in so many Parliaments — the public spirit which you have manifested — the personal regard and esteem which I have received from my fellow citizens and friends, this present testimony of their favour and affection, are much more than a compensation for any injury I have, or could have sustained, even of the most serious nature.

The late outrage has had no other effect, except to bring forward the good feelings of my countrymen, and their characteristical warmth and generosity, and to manifest a spirit which asserts the humanity of the Irish, and proves the excellent heart of an honourable community.

Accept my gratitude, with this assurance, that I cannot find words to express my thanks for the kindness of my countrymen, and that I find in their sympathies more than a reward for any services I can boast to have performed.

I have the honour to be,
Your very obedient, humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

Be it remembered, that at a Post Assembly, held at the City Assembly House, William-Street, on Monday the 6th day of July, 1818, the following Address was agreed to be presented to the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, M. P.

Sir,

We have heard with surprise, indignation, and deep regret, of the gross and wicked assault committed upon you, on your return from receiving the unanimous support of the electors of this city, on Tuesday last. If distinguished talent—if ardent patriotism—if unpurchaseable integrity—if a long and valuable life, past in the public service, could have rendered the person of any patriot safe from the brutal attack of the rabble, that safety should have been most sacred in your person.

The electors have proved, by their union of sentiment, their reverence for your patriotism. The rabble have shown by their disgraceful and opprobrious conduct, how little they have merited from the services of the oldest and most distinguished friend of the people.

The corporation of Dublin, the first to notice, and the most anxious to evince their detestation of such flagitious conduct, sincerely congratulate you upon your providential escape from those hands, which should have been upheld to protect and applaud the conduct of the man, whose life and talents have been devoted to the service of his country.

In testimony whereof, the common seal of said city, is hereunto affixed, the day and year aforesaid.

At a Meeting of the Parishioners of St. Luke, held this day, in the Vestry Room, pursuant to requisition, for the purpose of preparing and presenting a congratulatory Address to the Right Honourable Henry Grattan, on his recent escape from an attack made on his person, by a few insulated and misguided persons.

THOMAS BEASLEY, Jun. } Churchwardens,
JOHN RIDLEY, } in the Chair.

Resolved, That the following Address be adopted, and respectfully presented to the Right Honourable **Henry Grattan**, on the part of the Parishioners, by the following Gentlemen: William Conlan, Thomas Parker, John Rooney, and Thomas Beasley, Jun. Esquires.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

We, the Parishioners of St. Luke, whose sentiments are in perfect unison with those of every class of our fellow citizens, beg leave to offer you our sincere congratulations on your happy escape from the late base and unmerited attack made on you, by a few contemptible and misguided individuals who have endeavoured to bring disgrace on the character of our city, by attempting to insult, in the person of our representative, the man whose great and comprehensive mind first obtained for Ireland a constitution; and we must ever recollect with gratitude, admiration, and respect, the talents and the heroism with which you have always struggled to defend the liberties and independence of our country.

Our most sincere wishes are, that you may long live to enjoy that happiness which must ever be the reward of unsullied virtue and true patriotism.

THOMAS BEASLEY, Jun. } Churchwardens.
JOHN RIDLEY, }

9th July, 1818.

CORPORATION OF GOLDSMITHS.

16th July, 1818.

At a Post Hall held this day, pursuant to requisition, it was resolved unanimously,

That we in vain seek the aid of language sufficiently expressive of our feelings of horror and detestation, at the ungenerous and cowardly attack, made upon the person of our revered and patriotic representative, the Right Honourable **Henry Grattan**; and that in common with our fellow citizens, we eagerly embrace the present opportunity of *again* recording those sentiments of attachment and veneration, which we have *always*, and *must ever* feel for the man, who, in the worst times, dared to stem the torrent of corruption, and boldly assert his country's rights, and protect his country's freedom.

Resolved, That the following Address be presented

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

Sir,

In this hour of popular homage, and congratulation, permit us to add our contribution on your recent escape from the attack of a lawless and undiscerning mob; and to assure you, that we are actuated by no common feelings of resentment and abhorrence, at so gross a violation of that gratitude and respect, which your long and signal services for your country, so eminently entitle you to.

But this circumstance, so nearly fatal in its consequences, demands our fervent thanks to that all bounteous Providence, who never deserts the virtuous in the hour of danger, and who frequently converts the worst intentions into the best and wisest purposes, for preserving at the same moment your precious life, and preventing so disgraceful a blot being recorded on the annals of your native city.

We rejoice that the blind and disappointed fury of a few misguided wretches, has offered an opportunity to all the liberal, enlightened, and loyal inhabitants of this once flourishing city, to vie with each other in the honourable contention of being foremost in their congratulations to their beloved representative; they can never forget, Sir, what Ireland owes you, that to your great and glorious exertions is to be attributed whatever political consequence she may boast of at this day; they can never forget, Sir, when the treachery of her sons, and the envious jealousy of her enemies, aimed the last blow at her freedom, your distinguished and powerful efforts to prevent the accomplishment of a measure, the desolating and hideous consequences of which your prophetic soul but too well foresaw, and which we sincerely hope you may live to see repealed.

But did we, Sir, require another proof of your exalted virtue, worth, and humanity, you have emblazoned them by the magnanimity you have displayed in the forgiveness of those, "who trespassed against you;" may you, Sir, receive the divine reward promised to so glorious an example.

Long, Sir, may your energies, and your experience, survive, to advocate your country's cause.

Signed by Order,
THOMAS WILSON, Clk. Guild.

The ADDRESS of the INHABITANTS of St. JOHN's PARISH.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

SIR,

WE, the Inhabitants of St. John's Parish, in Vestry asembled, cannot suppress the feelings of indignation which we entertain for the late outrageous aggression committed on your venerated person, but, in common with our fellow citizens, beg leave thus publicly to present you our most sincere congratulations, for your providential escape from the parracidal hands of a few individuals of the most abject order.

We are anxious to evince to you, Sir, the deep impressions of gratitude which we feel, for the many important services you have rendered this country, and that after a long period of glorious and successful efforts in its behalf, to have been wantonly attacked by a miserable and misguided mob, is to us a source of the most inexpressible anguish.

Your magnanimity and forgiving disposition, so eminently displayed on a late occasion, has (if possible rivetted more strongly on our minds, the exalted purity of your character; and permit us to add, that it is our most ardent wish that Providence may long preserve a life, endeared to us by the eminence of every virtue, combined with such brilliant and unexampled abilities.

Signed by us on behalf of ourselves, and that of our fellow Parishioners,

JAMES ANDREWS, } Churchwardens.
JAMES MOLYNEUX, }

St. John's Vestry Room, }
20th July, 1818. }

APOTHECARIES' HALL.

To the Right Hon. Henry Grattan.

SIR, 30th July, 1818.

WE, the Master, Wardens, and Freemen of the Corporation of Apothecaries, or Guild of St. Luke, beg leave to congratulate you on your escape from the late outrageous and shameful attack made on your person, on Tuesday the 30th of June.

Feelings of indignation would naturally arise, at the insult offered to our city, in the person of our representative; but how much stronger must those feelings be, when we recognize in that representative, one who has stood by his country in every danger, who has been the firmest and tried advocate of her liberties and her interests, who has added to her splendour, as a nation, by the lustre of his talents.

IRWIN M'ALPIN, Master.
H. GRATTAN DOUGLASS, Warden.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

AT a Meeting of Catholic Gentlemen, the following Address to Mr. GRATTAN was adopted.

SIR, Dublin, Essex-street, 3d May, 1820.

WE have learned, with deep affliction, that your health has been of late much impaired; and that your physicians deem your intended journey to England for the present inadviseable.

The object of that journey is avowed, and is one which revives and increases those sentiments of lively gratitude and profound attachment which we have ever entertained towards you; and we cannot more suitably express the sincerity of those sentiments, than by most earnestly and anxiously entreating that you will postpone that journey, of which our liberties are the great object.

We have, therefore, a right to conjure you to spare yourself for your afflicted country, and to await a more favourable, and we trust an early opportunity of advocating our cause with renewed health.

For and on the part of the Meeting,
RANDALL M'DONNELL, Chairman.
J. P. O'GORMAN, Secretary.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN, Stephen's Green, 5th May, 1820.

I THANK you much for your solicitude on my account. I did intend to bring on your question speedily; but I feel that this is at present impossible. I shall endeavour to bring it on in a reasonable time, such as may suit the convenience of the parties concerned. Nothing but physical impossibility shall prevent me; as I consider that my last breath belongs to my country.

Your very obedient humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

I hope in the course of next week to be able to write to you more fully on the important subject alluded to in your Address.

CATHOLIC MEETING.

A Catholic Meeting was held on Saturday, at the Globe Tavern, Essex-Street.

JOSEPH PLUNKET, of Rocksavage, Esq. in the Chair.

Mr. O'Gorman reported, that he had received a letter from Mr. Grattan, jun. stating, that his father was anxious for an interview with some Catholic gentlemen, that their number should not exceed six, amongst whom Lord Trimlestown and Sir Edward Bellew should be included. Mr. O'Gorman informed the Meeting, that Lord Trimlestown was in France, and Sir Edward Bellew out of town. The following gentlemen were then appointed to wait on Mr. GRATTAN:

Joseph Plunket,
William Murphy,
Daniel O'Connell,
John Costigan,
John Howley, and
N. P. O'Gorman, Esqrs.

The Deputation proceeded immediately to Stephen's Green, and returned in about three quarters of an hour. Mr. O'Gorman reported the result of their interview and read the following Address, which had been handed to them by Mr. GRATTAN. The impression which this communication made on all present was affecting in the extreme. It is impossible to describe it otherwise than as that produced amongst an affectionate family, by receiving intelligence of the illness of a beloved parent. Mr. (late Judge) Day, Mr. W. C. Plunkett, and Mr. Burrowes were with Mr. GRATTAN, when the Deputation arrived.

To the Gentlemen composing the Deputation appointed by the Meeting of Roman Catholics.

GENTLEMEN, Stephen's Green, 13th May, 1820.

I AVAIL myself of your Deputation to give you a very sincere opinion touching the interests of the Roman Catholic body.

I am convinced that it is their policy, as well as their duty, and I am sure it is their disposition, to maintain a perpetual connexion with the British Empire:

To keep clear of every association with wild projectors for universal suffrage and annual Parliaments, and continue to cultivate those gracious dispositions in the Royal Breast which had been early manifested in their favour, and to accept of emancipation upon the terms that are substantial and honourable.

Pursuing such a principle, and with the temper and conduct which they are manifesting, and which I am proud to contemplate, they must succeed.

They desire a privilege to worship their God according to the best of their judgment, and they have a right to do so with impunity, and without the interference of the state.

I shall go to England for your question, and should the attempt prove less fortunate to my health, I shall be more than repaid by the reflection that I make my last effort for the liberty of my country.

I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,
Your very obedient and attached humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

ROMAN CATHOLICS OF LIVERPOOL.

AT a Meeting of the Roman Catholics of Liverpool, held at the Catholic Charity School, on the 24th day of May, 1820, an Address of thanks to the Right Honourable HENRY GRATTAN, on his passage through that town to London, was unanimously adopted, and a deputation consisting of the following gentlemen, viz. Rev. J.

Robinson, Dr. M'Cartney, Mr. Henry Leigh Walter, Wm. Talbot, and R. M. Whitnell, Esqrs. were appointed to present the same.

Sir,

The Roman Catholics of Liverpool, unwilling to let the great Advocate of their claims pass through this town without some expression of their thanks, have deputed us to convey to you, Sir, the grateful sense which they entertain of the noble exertions which you have so perseveringly made in their behalf. In executing this honourable and truly gratifying commission, permit us, Sir, to entreat you not to consider any inadequateness of expression on our part, as indicative of inadequate feeling on the part of those whom it is our pride to represent. The Catholics here, as well as the Catholics of Ireland, are fully sensible of the obligations which they owe to the veteran champion of their cause — however feebly their sense of such obligations may be communicated on the present occasion. As British subjects, we naturally possess British feelings; and, consequently, an innate love of freedom — a strong attachment to our glorious Constitution, and an ardent desire to become partakers of all its benefits. Judge, then, Sir, from this, what must be our sentiments with respect to one who has incessantly laboured, during a long and active life, to obtain for us that much wished for equal participation of all its blessings; and who has, by his matchless eloquence in the Senate, contributed more than any other individual to dispel from the public mind that mist of prejudice, the excitement of which, in our views of the case, first principally occasioned the enactment of the penal statutes against us, and whose remains now mainly operate against their complete repeal.

Whether our fervent and united prayer be heard, that you may live to witness the successful termination of your labours, or, like the great leader of the Israelites, you be taken from us, whilst standing, under your guidance, upon the very threshold of the constitution, rest assured, honoured Sir, that you will ever be considered by us as our conductor in chief from the state of Egyptian bondage in which you first found us, to the promised land of liberty under the British constitution; and that the cherished name of GRATTAN will ever be fondly associated and inseparably interwoven with the cause of Catholic emancipation. Sorry are we that for such substantial benefits received, we have nothing but thanks, though emanating directly from the heart, to offer in return. But we are convinced that to be admired and deservedly recognized, whilst living, as the distinguished advocate of our civil and religious liberty, and to be classed, after death, amongst the foremost of your country's benefactors, are rewards which your liberal mind, in conjunction with its own approving reflection, considers a more than sufficient remuneration for your public services, valuable as they have unquestionably been. The former reward you have already enjoyed in an almost unequalled degree — the latter as certainly will be yours.

Mr. Grattan's Answer.

GENTLEMEN, Waterloo Hotel, Liverpool, 24th May, 1820.

I THANK you extremely for your kindness. Your zeal must supply my want of ability; and whatever is deficient, attribute it to the real cause, which is, want of health, and not of inclination.

I am, Gentlemen,
Your very obedient humble Servant,
HENRY GRATTAN.

THE END.

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